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in: Articles | Periodical issue - 1 | Turkic languages - 6 | Periodical

39 page(s) (81 - 119)

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Old Uyghur lexemes preserved in the Turfan-Qomul dialect of Uyghur—the case of two "Erntesegen" texts

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Yakup, Abdurishid 2002. Old Uyghur lexemes preserved in the Turfan-Qomul dialect of Uyghur—the case of two "Erntesegen" texts. *Turkic Languages* 6, 81-119.

The present paper discusses the Old Uyghur lexemes preserved in the Turfan-Qomul dialect of Uyghur, mainly based on the materials obtained during fieldwork carried out in the Turfan-Qomul dialect area. First, the aim, the process, and the method of this fieldwork are introduced; then, taking up the case of two "Erntesegen" texts, the status of Old Uyghur lexemes retained and "missing" in the Turfan-Qomul dialect is analyzed; after that, some remarks on certain lexemes found in in the "Erntesegen" texts are presented in order to demonstrate the importance of the retained Old Uyghur lexemes for Uyghur philology.

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For the sixtieth birthday of Professor Masahiro Shōgaito,
a linguist and philologist, a teacher and a friend,
the scholar who has led and encouraged this fieldwork.

0. Introduction

Old Uyghur is a "dead language" since nobody speaks it at present; it is not a "dead language", on the other hand, since as the direct and indirect descendants of Old Uyghur many modern Turkic languages are still in use in altered forms, and have retained many of its important features. Especially, the main grammatical categories and basic vocabulary of Old Uyghur are more or less relevant in many modern Turkic languages or dialects.

There are some hypotheses on the descendants and descendant language of Old Uyghurs and their language. J. Klaproth, to my knowledge, the first Western scholar to record some dialect words from the Turfan dialect, comes to this conclusion: "Eine der merkwürdigsten Völkerschaften des Türkisch-Tatarischen Stammes sind die ايغور *Ighur* oder richtiger اويغور *Uyghur*, die sich selbst *Uigur* nennen, und im inneren Asien die Gegenden von *Chamul* (Chinesisch 哈密Chă-mỹ) und *Turufan* oder *Turfan*, bewohnten, die sie bisjetzt noch nicht verlassen haben" (Klaproth 1820: 1). A. von Gabain writes: "Das heutige Ost-türkische ist natür-

lich der Dialekt der dem Alttürkischen am nächsten steht. Manche Einzelheiten weisen besonders auf den Dialekt von Yarkend, andere auf das Taranči, den Dialekt des Ili-Tals, hin." (Gabain 1950: 2). Previously, the *sarıγ yuγur* 'Yellow Uyghur' were considered as the descendants of the Orkhun Uyghurs or the so-called Ganzhou Uyghurs. It was also noted that *sarıγ yuγur* has preserved a certain number of Old Uyghur words (Malov 1957: 7; Tenišev 1976: 168). However, according to rather new investigations, Yellow Uyghurs appearing after the Yuan period (1226) in the Hexi area are migrants who left the West under strong Islamic pressure (Hamilton 1977: 361-364; Saguchi 1972: 191-202; Moriyasu 1980: 335). Very recently it was argued that, compared to the modern Turkic languages, Tuvan displays old features in its phonology, word formation and vocabulary (Ölmez 2000: 133).

Without a doubt, any modern Turkic language or dialect may display some archaic elements; it is also the fact that no modern Turkic language or dialect is identical with Old Uyghur. However, documentation of any Turkic languages or dialects, including records of archaic elements, sheds light on Turkic linguistics as well as on the study of Old Uyghur, and is obviously very valuable. The present paper reports some results of such documentation based on the materials obtained during fieldwork carried out in the Turfan-Qomul dialect area of Uyghur.[1] First, the aim, process and method of this fieldwork will be introduced; then, taking up the case of two "Erntesegen" texts, the Turfan-Qomul dialect preservation of Old Uyghur words will be demonstrated; after that, some philological notes on some lexemes found in the "Erntesegen" texts will be made. Finally, after an outline of conclusions, some remaining problems will be shortly mentioned.

1. Fieldwork and method

1.1. Aim of this fieldwork

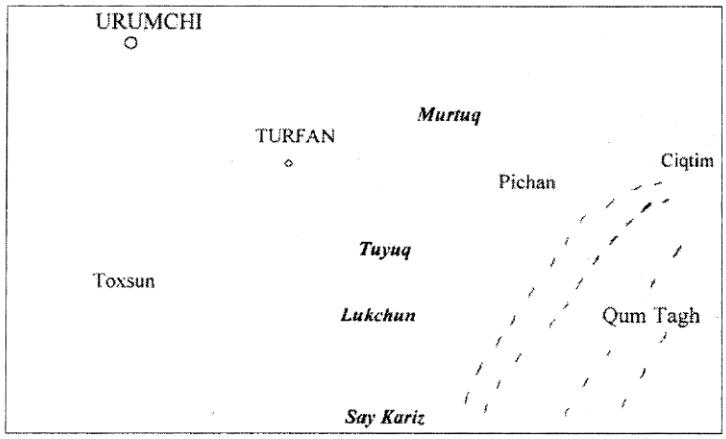
Old Uyghur texts range over six centuries, from the ninth century until the fourteenth century. The language of some rather late copies does not show crucial differences from that of the earlier texts. It is very likely that Old Uyghur, especially the language of most Buddhist texts, has functioned as a literary and religious language amongst the Uyghur Buddhists, and the texts written in this language were used and copied for centuries, reflecting very few diachronical differences or spelling peculiarities. Religious terms of Chinese and Sanskrit origin attested in these texts gradually ceased to exist or were replaced by Arabic and Persian borrowings in many

[1] For the support of this fieldwork I owe my gratitute to Professor Tooru Hayasi, Tokyo University. I completed the actual research as a Research Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt foundation in the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz. To both institutions I am extremely grateful. Thanks also due to Professor Dr. Peter Zieme and Dr. Simon-Christiana Raschmann, Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, for their help in accessing the original manuscript of the first "Erntesegen" text.

Central Asian Turkic languages. However, it is estimated that, contrary to the language of the religious texts, the language of some legal (contracts, letters, etc.), literary, medical and folkloric texts, and naturally certain religious texts as well, reflects many more features of the spoken language than the literary Uyghur language. Lexemes used in such texts most probably still survive in the modern Turkic dialects, especially if the items or concepts denoted by such lexemes are still familiar to the speakers of modern dialects. Inspired by such a consideration, we conducted fieldwork from the end of August until the middle of September 2000 in four villages of Turfan, namely Murtuq, Tuyuq, Lükčün and Say Kariz of the Turfan area, mainly working on a word list extracted from two agricultural texts known as "Erntesegen" texts (see Zieme 1975 [E1], Molnár & Zieme 1989 [E2]), and also partly on two medical texts published by R. Arat (see Heilkunde I, Heilkunde II). The main aim was to identify to which extent the lexemes used in these texts survived in this region, and whether the surviving elements help us to elucidate some problems in the text edition.

Surprisingly, it became clear that various words attested in Old Uyghur, especially some rare lexemes found in the "Erntesegen" and medical texts, are still active in this dialect area[2] in the same or close semantics as the Old Uyghur originals, though some of them have been considered to be ghost words in Uyghur philology.

Figure: Investigated sites in the Turfan region.



[2] Turfan and Qomul are classified as belonging to different sub-dialect groups of the central dialect (Tenišev 1963, Osmanov 1990). However, according to our investigations, the local dialects of Turfan and Qomul constitute a Turfan-Qomul subgroup of the central dialect including the local Uyghur varieties spoken in the whole Turfan and Qomul area as well as some villages of Kucha and Lopnor.

As it is well known, the Uyghurs in this region have experienced several complex migrations, and have had strong political, economic and cultural contact with Chinese, Mongolians and Manchurians in the last five centuries. It was basically assumed that the Uyghur dialect spoken in this region shifted to Southern dialect-based Uyghur following the Islamization of the whole Turfan-Qomul region, later also influenced by literary Uyghur, which was formed under the strong influence of the Southern dialects. The discovery of considerable words, especially the existence of some rare lexemes attested in the "Erntesegen" and medical texts in this dialect area, very much counters such assumptions, and is quite interesting.

1.2. Selection of the text

Old Uyghur exhibits rather rich lexical properties, and more and more new texts have been discovered and edited. We do not know exactly how many words are attested in Old Uyghur; handbooks and dictionaries of Old Uyghur dedicated to comprehensive documentation are far from completion. There is an excellent contribution on the semantic classification of the lexical items that appear in some parts of Altun Yaruq (Zieme 1996: 197-230), but a systematic work focussing on the semantic structure of entire Old Uyghur lexicon is still missing.

Most texts share common basic vocabulary, but at times items in the basic vocabulary differ due to the content of the specific texts. In the case of Manichean texts some words originating in Sogdian such as *ngošak* 'auditor' (< Sogd. *nyš'k*), *možak* 'master' (< Sogd. *mwck*) function as basic words, but in the case of Buddhist texts many Chinese and Sanskrit Buddhist terms become important. On the other hand, many Old Uyghur words even demonstrate special semantics when they are used as religious terms. Some texts are very fragmentary and do not provide a very clear context; some texts are fairly long and exhibit a comparatively large vocabulary. Due to such circumstances, it was not so easy to produce a list of Old Uyghur basic vocabulary or to choose a specific text as a basis for fieldwork.

With regard to this situation we have chosen two "Erntesegen" texts as the basis of our fieldwork, mainly to the following reasons: (1) These two texts display very similar content to some folksongs widespread in the present Turfan and Qomul area; (2) rich agricultural terms attested in these texts very possibly are still in use in the Turfan and Qomul area where these texts are supposed to have originally appeared; (3) "Erntesegen" texts date to a rather late period and exhibit many late linguistic features; (4) both texts are not so long and rather well preserved. Most importantly, both "Erntesegen" texts provide clear contexts to illustrate semantics of most words, and are availabe in excellent editions.

1.3. Method

Following a selection of the text, we have produced a word list for two "Erntesegen" texts, mainly dividing the words into nominals, verbs and function words; then all words were classified into several semantic fields. For instance, under the nominals we have established subdirectories such as body parts, agricultural terms, cooking

terminology, and so on; verbs were also classified into two parts: basic actions and rare verbs. Since the fieldwork had to be carried out in a comparatively short time, we decided to concentrate on nominals and rare verbs, since the basic verbs such as *bar-* 'to go', *käl-* 'to come' are mostly active, and also observable in normal conversation.

In most cases, I read my modern Uyghur translation of these two texts to the informants before beginning my interview. Most informants showed great interest in the content of these texts. Once an aged female informant even asked me:[3] *jazučі (< jazʁučі) turpallɨxmikɛ? ɐjɐp bizni su talɨʃɨp uruʃqinimizʁɨčɛ bilikittiʁu* 'Is the writer a Turfanian? What does he know so well about our fight over water?' When I told them these texts had been produced between six and seven hundred years ago, they were surprised. The same informant said: *atam, bu su taliʃiʃ burunqiladin qaʁan nimikɛnduχ hɛ* 'Oh, my God, I see such fighting for water originally came down from our ancestors'. Then I began my interview, concentrating on some rare words whose semantics or dialect forms were unclear to me, mainly using the following methods:

A. The semantics of some words were directly asked, especially the words whose meanings were not clear to me. When I asked *tɛʃgyt digini nimɛ digini*? 'What does *tɛʃ gyt* mean?', the informant explained immediately: *tɛʃ kyt digɛnçu, mɐn munu ismajil- axunnu yzymis- ni yzyʃpirmɛ, ismajlaxun mini yzymymni yzyʃpirdo, ismajlaxun bilɛ ikimiz tɛʃkyt voʁan bulmiz, ʃuni tɛʃkyt dɛ qujdikɛ 'tɛʃkyt* means that I help Ismajil Akhun to pick his grapes, and Ismajil Akhun helps me to pick my grapes, so we become *tɛʃkyt*, which is called here so *tɛʃkyt*'. From this answer, not only did the dialect pronunciation *tɛʃkyt* of Old Uyghur *tɛʃgyt* become clear, but also its meaning 'labor-exchanger' was elicited.

The same method was used with words such as *täpin, käräm, qara su, kök ot* as well as the words of Sanskrit origin, e.g. *dvipa, šasin*, etc. Very interestingly, for some words completely wrong answers were given. For example, for *divipa* all informants answered *tɛvip* 'traditional doctor', a word of Arabic origin (< Ar. *tabīb*). What this indicates, however, is that *divipa* died out in the Turfan dialect.

B. In cases where the semantics is clear, the dialect forms were elicited by pointing to the real objects if such real objects still exist (in some cases picturebooks were also used). Dialect forms for *tapan* 'heel', *alın* 'forehead', *tagar* 'sack', *tag* 'mountain', etc. were obtained in this way. For abstract words an explanation or literary Uyghur correspondence was provided. In the last case, I am not very sure whether reliable dialect forms were obtained. For *etmäk* 'preparation' some informants provided the same form *tejjarliq*, which is completely identical to the literary form. However, my father-in-law, a native speaker of the Turfan dialect, told me that in the

[3] In the text *ɛ* found in Standard Uyghur and Uyghur dialect words represents raised open front unrounded vowel.

Turfan area there is only *tɐjjagɐrlik* but not *tɐjjarliq*. In the dialect texts that I have recorded I have also only found *tɐjjagɐrlik*.

C. In some circumstances, especially when I felt the previous two approaches were not effective, I tried to read some sentences together with the informants in order to get a better understanding of the semantics of some words. But I immediately found that this approach resulted in the informant wrongly connecting some words with some phonetically similar but semantically unrelated words in their dialect. *tapɨla-* 'to instruct' for *tapla-* 'to be pleased', provided by one informant, is clearly wrong. It also testifies to the fact that *tapla-* is not in use anymore.

Certain words were also extracted from the informants' conversations and from text materials, especially the closed-category words, quantifiers and some verbs.

Our fieldwork was carried out in a rather short time and the method of such fieldwork determines the quality of its result. Most likely we can say with confidence that our data are basically reliable since the data obtained from different informants in different areas are mostly identical. Nevertheless, we do not deny that it is also possible to collect richer and homelier data from the most isolated villages, especially from some aged informants. However, it is also true that such materials can hardly be treated as dialect materials representative of the present Turfan dialect. Unfortunately, our data provide no information about the distribution of glosses among the different ages, genders and social classes. Data from other regions aside from the four sites investigated are also not available in our material.

2. Analysis of retained lexemes

2.1. Retained lexemes: Statistical data

Unrepeated lexemes in the two "Erntesegen" texts amounts to a total of 453 items. Out of them, the first "Erntesegen" text (E1) displays a total of 377 lexical items including *qana* and *yagu//*, whose semantics is hardly determinable due to the fragmentary situation of the text. The other text (E2) exhibits 164 words in total, of which 89 items overlap with those in the first "Erntesegen" text. Altogether, 453 words extracted from the two "Erntesegen" texts and some lexemes from medical texts were covered by the list of questions. Here we will only report our primary investigations concerning these 453 lexemes chosen from the two "Erntesegen" texts.

Out of 453 lexemes, 277 items can be classified as nominals including nouns, adjectives and pronouns, while 151 items are verbs. The remaining 25 items compose a group that can simply be called function words including adverbs, conjectures and interjections. The following table shows general statistics concerning these 453 lexemes.

Table 1: Turfan dialect preservation of the "Erntesegen" lexemes

	Lükčün	Say Kariz	Tuyuq	Murtuq	Standard Uyghur
Total (453)	293	291	280	274	237
Nominals (277)	172	170	164	159	136

Verbs (151)	110	111	106	104	91
Function words (25)	11	10	10	10	10

As this table indicates, there are some differences between the four villages in the Turfan dialect area with regard to preservation of "Erntesegen" vocabulary. If we take the mean of the percentages in this table, Lükčün and Say Kariz preserve more words than the other two villages, where about 64.2% and 64.1% of the total "Erntesegen" vocabulary is still in use, respectively. Tuyuq also exhibits 62.4% of the total vocabulary, a little less than Lükčün and Say Kariz, whereas Murtuq only exhibits 59.8%, and has obviously lost more words compared to the other three villages. The situation of standard Uyghur considerably diverges from any village in the Turfan dialect area. The standard language has preserved exactly 51.6% of the total "Erntesegen" vocabulary, meaning about half of the total vocabulary has been lost. Apparently, any village in the Turfan dialect area has still retained more "Erntesegen" lexemes than standard Uyghur.

Interestingly, the regions preserving a high number of "Erntesegen" lexemes are apart from the urban society and located in the southernmost part of the Turfan region. Going from south to north, close to the urban area, the number of preserved "Erntesegen" lexemes considerably decreases. It is very likely that the southern regions are the major linguistic relic area of the Turfan region. This assumption needs to be proved by further analysis of the phonology and morphology of this dialect. Probably, such a regional feature of the southern villages closely connects to the important role the Lükčün region played as the political and cultural center of the whole Turfan area over a rather long period. On the other hand, its location apart from modern urban areas caused it to receive less influence from standard Uyghur than other regions. Most interestingly, Lükčün and Say Kariz regions display the same phonetical features, e.g. alternation of *r* and *j* (*kir* 'to enter' is *kij* in these regions, see Appendix). As a transition area, Tuyuq sometimes displays this feature, but sometimes does not. Close to the North, in Murtuq and urban areas of Turfan such phonetic feature is not observable (see Appendix).

However, these statistics only reflect a general figure; the situation differs when individual lexemes are taken into consideration. For instance, the word for 'shovel' (Appendix no. 141) is *qapiriq* in Murtuq, clearly closer to the "Erntesegen" form *qaprıg* than *qapartqu* found in Lükčün. The word form *jilqi* for 'livestock' (Appendix no. 273) in the Tuyuq region is identical with the form in the "Erntesegen" texts, but other regions display a rather developed *jilqa*. Standard Uyghur also displays some lexemes that are not active in the Turfan dialect; e.g. the standard Uyghur word for 'wife, lady' *χotun* etymologically originates from Old Turkic *qatun* ("Erntesegen" displays the same form). However, *χotun* or *χutun* might be a latent lexical item, but certainly not an active word in the Turfan dialect (for the terminology see Carver 1987: 6), since the active word for 'wife' in the Turfan dialect is *mɛzim*, which certainly originates from Arabic.

2.2. Retained lexemes: Word classes

Table 1 exhibits another important aspect of the Turfan dialect preservation of "Erntesegen" lexemes: That is the distribution of retained lexemes according to word classes. Generally speaking, the percentage of retained lexemes in Lükčün and Say Kariz villages is higher than in the other two villages, Tuyuq and Murtuq. However, that is not the case with regard to every word class. Let us take the case of function words. Only about 40 percent of the function words in the "Erntesegen" texts have survived with all interviewees. Even in Lükčün, one of the most conservative regions in the Turfan dialect area, only one more lexeme, namely the interjection *ja* 'oh', has continued to exist compared to other three regions. Note that there is no difference between standard Uyghur and the remaining three regions in the Turfan dialect area with regard to the preservation of function words.

The natural next question is: What is the situation of other word classes? We see different figures if we analyse the retention of nominals and verbs. See the following table:

Table 2: Distribution of retained lexemes according to word classes

Order	Regions	Nominals	Verbs
1	Lükčün	62%	74.7% (2)
2	Say Kariz	61.5%	74.9%
3	Tuyuq	59%	71%
4	Murtuq	57.5%	69%
5	Standard Uyghur	49.5%	61.8%

Compared to nominals, verbs are mostly preserved. Say Kariz exhibits 74.9% of total verbs used in the "Erntesegen" texts. Lükčün is a little less than Say Kariz, but still very close to the percentage of Say Kariz. Tuyuq displays more than 70% of verbs, and the percentage of preserved verbs in Murtuq is also fairly high. Standard Uyghur lost nearly 40 percent of "Erntesegen" verbs, but still exhibits more than 60 percent. Nearly 40 percent of the nominals died out in even the most conservative regions like Lükčün and Say Kariz. Judging from this case, we can conclude that function words can be replaced more easily than other word classes regardless of the geographical location of specific dialects or speech communities. Nominals may also be replaced rather easily, but seem to be stable compared to function words. Verbs are the most conservative and stable, and show little change compared to the other two word classes. We are not sure whether this is a general case, but at least it seems to be true for the "Erntesegen" case of the Turfan dialect.

2.3. Retained lexemes: Definition and scope

We still have not answered an important question: What is the definition and scope of the so-called "preserved lexemes" treated as retained lexemes here? We treated the words of the following categories as retained lexemes in our analysis of the Turfan dialect data (see Appendix):

A. Lexemes completely identical to the "Erntesegen" originals both in phonetic shape and semantics, e.g. *aq* 'white' (E1 *aq* 'white'), *idiʃ* 'container' (E1 *idiš* 'container'), and *qal-* 'to leave' (E2 *qal-* 'to leave'), etc.

B. Lexemes that differ in their phonetic shape from the forms in the "Erntesegen" texts to some extent, but certainly are etymologically connected to the latter. In other words, the dialect forms are the results of diachronic development of the Old Uyghur originals. Naturally, such words display the same or similar semantics as those used in the "Erntesegen" texts, e.g. *qattiq* 'hard' (E1 *qatıg* 'hard'), *tigirmeɲ* 'mill' (*tigirmẽ* in Murtuq and *tygmen* in Tuyuq, E1 *tägirmän* 'mill'), *ɛsnɛ-* 'to yawn' (E1 *esinä-* 'to yawn').

C. Lexemes that display somewhat distinct semantics (most cases also exhibit developed phonetic shape) from the "Erntesegen" originals, but are certainly also etymologically connected, eg. *qajaʃ* 'friend' (E1 *qadaš* 'kinsman, friend'), *teriq* 'millet, grain' (E1/2 *tarıg* 'grain, the produce of cultivated land'), *qollaʃ-* 'to grasp hands with each other when promising to do something; support' (E1 *qollaš-*'to grasp hands with each other'), *ɛski* 'bad; old' (E1 *äski* 'old'). Note that the original meaning of these words is secondary, or, more correctly, latent, in the Turfan dialect, and the extended semantics is active.

D. A small number of lexical items that exist as a part of other lexemes, e.g. *ɛrɛn* 'man' (E1 *ärän* 'man') only exists as a part of *ɛrɛnčɛ* 'male'. Strictly speaking, such words should be excluded from this category.

However, words modified with different suffixes, e.g. *soʁulmas* 'never drain(s)' (E1 *sogulmaqsız* 'never drain(s)'), are considered different lexemes though they derive from the same stem and exhibit the same or similar semantics.

Lexemes derived from different stems by means of different suffixes such as *qapartqu* 'shovel' (stands for E1 *qaprıg* 'a shovel'), *tınıq* 'breath' (stands for E1 *tın* 'breath'), are also excluded from this category.

2.4. The case of other Uyghur dialects and Turkic languages

Many "Erntesegen" lexemes found in the Turfan dialect of Uyghur also exist in other dialects of Uyghur as well as in most other Turkic languages or dialects. The phonetic shape of some lexemes in the other Uyghur dialects, especially the Lopnor and Khotan dialects, illustrated by the words listed in the following table, is mostly closer to the "Erntesegen" forms than the Turfan dialect. The following comparison illustrates this point:

Table 3: Comparison of "Erntesegen" words with the other Uyghur dialects

"Erntesegen" forms	Kashghar	Khotan	Lopnor	Ili
sämiz 'fat'	*simiz*	*simiz*	*sɛmiz*	*semiz*
aqın 'flow'	*eqin*	*eqin*	*aqin*	*eqin*
tarıg 'grain'	*teriq*	*teriʁ*	*tariʁ*	*teriq*
tiši 'woman'	*čiʃ*	*čiʃ(i)*	*tiʃi*	*čiʃi*

tämürči 'goldsmith'	*tymyči*	*tymyči*	*tømyrčy*	*tømyrči*
art- 'to load'	*a:t-*	*a:t-*	*art-*	*art-*

The Lopnor dialect forms of all the words in Table 2 are completely identical with "Erntesegen" lexemes, with the exception of *tømyrčy*, while the four villages in the Turfan dialect area display rather developed forms (see Appendix). The Khotan dialect word for 'grain' retains word-final voiced consonant, which has been lost in most other Uyghur dialects, including the Turfan dialect (see Appendix). Aside from the Kashghar dialect, all other Uyghur dialects still display final vowel in the word for 'woman'. A similar case can also be observed when "Erntesegen" words are compared with their counterparts in other Turkic languages.

Table 4: Comparison of "Erntesegen" words with their counterparts in some other Turkic languages

"Erntesegen" forms	Turkish	Kazak	Uzbek	Salar
adaq 'foot'	*ajaq*	*ajaq*	*åjåq*	*ajaχ*
äski 'old'	*eski*	*jeski*	*eski*	*eski*
kälin 'bride'	*gelin*	*kelin*	*kelin*	*kelin*
qarın 'stomach/belly'	*qarın*	*qarın*	*qårin*	*qarin*
yorı 'to go'	*jyry*	*jyr*	*jur*	*jyr*

Words for 'stomach/belly' in most Turkic languages in this table are identical with the "Erntesegen" form; however, its first vowel raised to *e* in the Turfan dialect due to the regressive assimilation of the high vowel in the next syllable (see Appendix). The lexemes for 'foot' and 'bride' in four Turkic languages cited here are also similar to the "Erntesegen" forms, the distinction mainly reflecting diachronic development. All four Turkic languages have preserved the original meaning 'old' of *äski*, but in the Turfan dialect such semantics of this word is only observable in phrases such as *eski čapan* 'old captan', *eski øj* 'old house', and so on.

It is also the case that some other Uyghur dialects or Turkic languages have even preserved some "Erntesegen" lexemes that died out or are not actively used in the Turfan dialect. For instance, the Lopnor dialect displays *qatun* 'wife' (E1 *qatun* 'lady'), while the Turfan dialect mostly uses *mɛzim* < Ar. *mazlūm* for 'wife'; Turkish exhibits the reflexive pronoun *kendü* (E1 *käntü* 'self'), but in the Turfan dialect *yzi* (< OT *öz* 'self' + 3sgPoss) is used; the Southern Anatolian dialect of Turkish displays *esin* 'wind' (Derleme Sözlügü V: 1782a, E1 *esin*), but this word was replaced by *ʃamal* (< Ar. *šamāl*) in the Turfan dialect; Yakut exhibits *ändäk* 'board' (E1 *ändäk* 'roof, board'), but the Turfan dialect word for 'roof' is *tyvɛ* 'roof'; some regions also display *øgyz*, and for 'board' *taχtaj* is used.

However, certain words are unique to the "Erntesegen" texts, for instance *tɛʃkyt*

'exchange; labor exchange; labor exchanger' (E1 *täšgüt*), *tepin* 'threshing; threshing objects' (E1 *täpin*),[4] *gerem* or *gerɛm* 'under-ground storing house used also for protection against high summer temperatures' (E1 *käräm*), *saŋ* (< Chin. *cang* 'storing house', E1 *saŋ*), *käŋä* or *käŋä* 'remainder after threshed *čar*' (E2) found in the "Erntesegen" texts exist neither in the other Uyghur dialects nor in the other Turkic languages. At least so far there is no documentation of these lexemes from other dialects or languages (for further notes on these words see section 4).[5] Most importantly, exactly such lexemes help us to interpret some passages that still remain problematic in the edition of "Erntesegen" texts. Based on these analyses, we may conclude that the Turfan dialect is characterized by the preservation of some rather rare and core "Erntesegen" lexemes that cannot be found in the other dialects or languages. Presumably, the same is true for most documents and medical texts.

3. Status of the "missing" lexemes

3.1. Statistics

As we have seen above, many lexemes attested in the "Erntesegen" texts do not exist in the Turfan dialect, and the amount of lexemes missing from the Turfan dialect is also quite considerable. This can be illustrated by the following table, which is actually a variant of Table 1.

Table 5: Statistics of the missing lexemes (percentages given in brackets)

	Lükčün	Say Kariz	Tuyuq	Murtuq	SU
Total (453)	160	162	173	179	216
Verbs (151)	41 (24.3%)	40(24.1%)	45 (29%)	47 (31%)	60 (38.2%)
Nominals (277)	105 (38%)	107(38.5%)	113 (41%)	118 (42.5%)	141 (50.5%)
Function words (25)	14 (56%)	15 (60%)	15 (60%)	15 (60%)	15 (60%)

Basically, from left to right the number of missing lexemes increases. Consequently, Murtuq is a region where the most significant lexical change has taken place, while in the Lükčün region such lexical change has been much less than in the other regions. If we examine the word classes of the missing items, it is not difficult to find that the percentage of function words and nominals is fairly high, while the verbs are mostly preserved. So-called "missing" words or lexemes also comprise several types of units: totally "extinct" lexemes, unfamiliar words, lexical items replaced by other

[4] Kirghiz *temin* (Yudaxin 722b) certainly has the same origin as E1 *täpin* and the Turfan dialect form (Molnár & Zieme 1989: 149), but is phonetically distinct.

[5] With regard to *sang* we cannot completely deny that it might be a late reborrowing from Chinese. However, since it is documented in the *Wu-ti Qing Wen-jian* (15888), and also was recorded by Katanov (see Menges II 36,55), I prefer to consider it as inherited from Old Uyghur rather than as a reborrowed item.

lexemes, etc. The Turfan dialect equivalents of some "Erntesegen" lexemes sometimes display different derivational features. However, such statements are generally based on the assumption that the lexemes attested in the "Erntesegen" texts originally existed in the Turfan dialect, although such an assumption has some obvious weaknesses.

Here many questions arise: What types of lexemes died out or were replaced? What is the process of replacement? And what types of derivational divergence is observable between the "Erntesegen" lexemes and their Turfan dialect equivalents?

3.2. "Extinct" lexemes

According to our analysis of the missing lexemes, the following types of lexemes died out or ceased to be used in the Turfan dialect; at least we have treated them as "extinct" lexemes in our statistics and analysis:

(a) Religious terms denoting Buddhist concepts, e.g. *šabi* < Chin. *sha-bi* 'lay brother', *tavip* < Skt. *dvīpa* 'continent', *tanyadivi* < Skt. **dhanyadeva* 'name of the Buddhist god; Kubera', *šazin* < Skt. *śāsana* 'discipline', etc. Supposedly, such terms disappeared after the Islamization of the Turfan area around the 15th and 16th centuries.

(b) A small number of lexemes denoting or referring to concepts that have disappeared or objects nonexistent in the present Turfan area, e.g. *tadun* 'a calf, one or two years old' (E2, ED 457a), *yavyan* 'a kind of food' (E2, ED 874b).

(c) Certain lexemes, e.g. *balar* '?', *čingnä* '?', *udluq* 'bone?', which are not understood by the speakers of the Turfan dialect, may also be grouped in this category. Some of them are ghost words in the "Erntesegen" texts (the first two), and their semantics is also impossible to elucidate based on the Turfan dialect materials.

(d) For a small number of verbs and function words, e.g. *u-* 'to be able' and the particle *oq*, one hardly can find real equivalents in the Turfan dialect. At least the function of these words is not expressed by means of a single verb or a single particle in the Turfan dialect.

(e) Very limited uncertain readings due to the fragmentary situation of the original manuscript, e.g. *uriyu* (E1 7), *qana//* (E1 140), were also assigned to this category. Such words should be excluded from the statistics.

3.3. Replaced lexemes

Many of the "missing" lexemes have been replaced by other lexemes. Generally speaking, the following three types of replacing process took place:

A. A Considerable number of lexemes were replaced by lexical items copied from Arabic and Persian. Lexemes replaced by Arabic and Persian-copied lexical items in the Turfan dialect are mostly nominals and function words; adverbs especially were replaced by copies from Arabic and Persian. See the following comparison (for more examples, see Appendix):

Table 5 Lexemes replaced by Arabic and Persian copies

E1	Lükčün	Murtuq	Say Kariz	Tuyuq	SU
ada 'danger'	*χɛter*	*χɛter*	*χɛter*	*χɛter*	*χɛter*
turqa 'always'	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*da'im*
tutči 'always'	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*da'im*
idi 'never'	*zadi*	*zadi*	*qɛtti*	*zadi*	*zadi*

The process of adoption and adaptation of Arabo-Persian copies into the Turfan dialect awaits further investigations. Considerable numbers of Arabic and Persian words exist in the *Gao-chang-guan Yi-yu* and *Wei-wu-er-guan Yi-yu*, two bilingual dictionaries compiled during the Ming period (1368-1664). Presumably, the Turfan and Qomul area had already come under strong Islamic influence in this period. Some words are probably inherited from the Chagatay literary language, while others were adopted via literary Uyghur after literary Uyghur was established in a rather late period.

B. A small number of lexemes, mainly verbs, were replaced by new lexemes formed by means of Uyghur word-building elements (including suffixes and word-building auxiliary verbs), e.g. *tümä-* 'to prepare' found in the first "Erntesegen" text was replaced by *tɛjjarla-* or *tɛjjar qil-* 'to prepare' (*tɛjjar* < Per. *tayyār* + *-la* / *qil-*), *bälgür* – 'to appear' (E1) was replaced by *pejda vol-* 'to appear' (*pejda* < Per. *paydā* + Auxilary verb *vol-* < *bol-*), and so on.

C. A few words are also replaced by other Turkic lexemes. For instance, for 'to wear' first "Erntesegen" text displays *igid-*, but in the Turfan dialect this word is not active anymore, and another Turkic word *kijin-* is used. In fact, such cases cannot be characterized as "replaced".

3.4. Other cases

Certainly, some Turfan dialect lexemes are semantically and etymologically connected to the words in the "Erntesegen" texts. For instance, *irʲk* recorded in the Lükčün, Say Kariz and Murtuq regions (*irik* in Tuyuq and *erik* in standard Uyghur) refers to 'male goat' like *irkäč* found in the first "Erntesegen" text. However, *irkäč*, which might also be *'ärkäč*, originates from *irk* 'ram' (OTWF 84). Anyway, the Turfan dialect form *irʲk* and the "Erntesegen" word *irkäč* can hardly be considered as the same lexeme. The relation between the Turfan dialect form *sijil-* (*seril-* in Murtuq, Tuyuq and SU display the same form) and E1 *savıl-* 'to decline' probably is also the same.

Verbs formed from one stem using different suffixes, mostly by means of causative suffixes, are also counted as different lexemes, though they exhibit the same semantics. For instance, *keltyʀ-* recorded in Lükčün, Say Kariz and Tuyuq (Murtuq: *ketyʀ-*) displays the same semantics 'to bring' as E1 *kälür-*, but they are of different formations. The words for 'to irrigate' (Appendix no. 372) and 'to fan in the wind' (Appendix no. 395) are considered of the same nature.

There are also other cases. Especially, the problem will be much more compli-

cated if the semantics and frequency are taken into consideration as well. For instance, we counted *teriq* as a retained lexeme for E1 *tarıy* 'grain'. However, *teriq* mostly refers to *millet*, and its meaning 'grain' is latent. Although *tyvɛ* is the common term for 'roof' in the Turfan dialect, *øgyz* is understood in some regions and was also counted as a retained lexeme. We have tried to avoid arbitrary judgements by strictly following the definitions introduced above.

4. Notes to "Erntesegen" texts

E1 5 arvıš 'a magic spell, or charm', translates Skt. *dhāraṇī* (ED 199a). In the Turfan dialect as well as in the Kashghar dialect of Uyghur this word signifies 'magical; holy; religious', and often appears as part of the phrase *avɪʃ eʃi* 'magical food' (Kashghar exhibits *ɛrvɛʃ*). Such foods are often prepared in a rather simple way, like *omač* 'a mixture of Indian meal and vegetables, which is boiled in water' (Jarring 1964: 323), and offered to the ghosts in order to be protected from the ghosts' harm as well as from disease. Clauson records *arbıʃ* from the North-eastern group of the Turkic languages; we can now add *avɪʃ* from the Turfan dialect of Uyghur. The Kashghar dialect form *ɛrvɛʃ* diverges considerably from *arvıš* in its phonetic shape.

E1 56 täšgüt So far, this word is only known from two "Erntesegen" texts. Its early attestation is known from E1: 56: *tägirmnänkä barıp m(e)n ögüp täšgütkä barıp är qılıp tämürčikä barıp oryaq soqdurup, bay baylayučı kiši aš qılyučı tišikä tägi barča anda qılıp*. Originally, *tägšüt* (t'skwd) was interpreted as 'Bohrerhersteller' (?) estimating that it possibly originates from *täš-* 'to get through, punch a hole' + {GUČ} (Zieme 1975: 127-8 note 56). We find a second example in E 2:17, where it appears in an almost identical context as in the first "Erntesegen" text. In the case of E2, only the letter *d* is preserved after a lacuna, and the whole word was reconstructed based on its attestation in E1 (Molnár & Zieme 1989: 148 note 17). Later this etymology was rejected, connecting it to DLT form *tägšüt* (DLT 227) 'exchange (*badal*) of something in the way of compensation (*'iwaḍ*)' (OTWF 312). Erdal writes: "*täšgüt* in Ernte 56 may possibly be the methathesised variant of this lexeme and not related to *täš-*" (OTWF 312). Erdal translates the whole passage as: "He goes to the mill to ground flour, then goes to exchange (it), then recruits (?) men, then goes to the smith...". Probably, Erdal is right when connecting *täšgüt* to DLT *tägšüt*, but in his translation of the whole sentence there still remain some unclear parts due to the unclear semantics of *täšgüt*, which he himself has questioned.

Aside from DLT, *tägšüt* appears in Altun Yaruq 47: 9, BTXIII 34: 2 as a part of a Buddhist term *[täg]šüt ät'öz* '[Ver]wandlungs-Körper' (see Zieme 1996: 147 note 34. 2). In HT VII 1541, several times also in Tattvārthā, *tägšüt* appears as part of the phrase *munuŋ tägšütinčä*. In the case of HT VII it corresponds to Chin. 翻 *fan* 'to turn; turn' (Taisho vol. 50, 260c), but in Tattvārthā it translates Chin. 相違 *xiang-wei* 'discrepancy, difference' (Shōgaito 1993: 351b). The Turfan dialect form *tɛʃkyt* (at least used in Lükčün, Turfan, Pichan, Tuyuq and Say Kariz regions) may also be a metathesis of *tägšüt* as explained by Erdal, and in which *g* is devoiced and assimilated by the next voiceless fricative *ʃ*. In the Turfan dialect *tɛʃkyt* has several mean-

ings: 'labor exchange', 'mutual aid', 'helper in agricultural work' (literally: 'labor exchanger')'. Its last meaning seems to fit the context of E1 as well as E2 rather well.

Incidentally, another word in the same sentence, *är qıl-*, also displays similar semantics to *adem qil-* 'to make man' or 'to gather people (to do something)', compare to *pul qil-* 'to make money; gather money (for a purpose'); both are relevant in most dialects of Uyghur. The last word in this sentence *qıl-* (*anda qılıp*) seems to display the same semantics. Therefore, the whole sentence in E1 might also be interpreted as: 'He goes to the mill to ground flour, then goes to helper(s) to gather men, then goes to the smith to cause to forge sickle, gathering all there, the sheaf-tying man to the food-cooking woman ...'.

Other Uyghur dialects and standard Uyghur use Arabic originating *lapqut* instead of *tɛʃkyt*.

E1 74 täpin Zieme interpreted this word as 'Dreschlitten' or generally 'Dreschwerkzeug' (p. 130, note 73) mainly based on the verb *täp-* 'to thresh' found in a text recorded in Turfan by Katanov (Menges 1943: 36: 83). Later, Molnár and Zieme provided further explanations, consulting *täpin* registered in Najip's dictionary as well as Kirghiz *temin* (E2 note 38). Erdal notes that it is probably the action noun 'threshing' (OTWF 304; E2 38). *Tepin* (< *tɛpin*) exists in the Turfan dialect of Uyghur signifying 'threshing roller; threshing objects, including roller, horses, donkeys and cows; threshing process'. It is a noun derived from the verb *tɛp-* 'to thresh (with foot)' by adding the derivative suffix *-Xn* (for a discussion of nouns derived with this suffix in Old Uyghur see OTWF 300-316). The following three couplets from a folk song widespread in the Turfan and Qomul area provide a clearer context for the semantics of *tepin*, in which it seems to refer to "threshing" (A), "threshing object" (B), and "threshing animals" (C), respectively.

A.	*uʃʃaq uʃʃaq toʁraqlani*	It was found the small poplar trees
	maŋdar besiptu.	are covered by bindweed.
	ɛmlik ɛmlik atla:ni	The obstinate (hend.) horses
	tepin qoʃuptu.	are joined to threshing.
B.	*tepingɛ atla qetildi*	Horses were joined to threshing object
	inčilemu selindi.	Pearls were also put.
	toʁla basti bidenni	Dusts covered the body,
	ynčɛ marʝan jančildi	Pearls were smashed to pieces.
C.	*tepinleni hajdisaq*	If we drive the threshing-animals
	atla ɛʝɛp maŋmidu	Horses strangely do not run.
	atlani urup sawap	Whipping and beating the horses
	qamčilirimiz tinmidu.	Our whip never stops.

A2 *maŋdar*: This word originates from OT *mandar* 'a plant which wraps itself (*yaltawī*) round trees and often causes their death' (*al-yubs*, ED 767b). Kashghari notes: "*mandār* a plant which winds around trees and causes them to dry up; 'bindweed' (*'ašaqa*). Oγuz dialect" (DLT 343). Clauson connects it to Persian *band* 'cord, tie, fastening, etc.' (ED 767b).

A3 *emlik*: Amongst the Uyghur dialects it only exists in the Turfan-Qomul dialect and means 'obstinate, untamed, wild', which is identical with Chagatay *emlik* (*emlik at* 'noch nicht gerittenes Pferd') and Yakut *ämnik* 'unbändig, wild, nicht geritten', Telengut *ämdik*, Hakas *imnik*, Karachay *emlik ~ yemlik*, Ottoman *im(e)lik* (Räsänen 43a).

B2 *ynče*: Originating from OT *yinčü* 'pearl' (ED 944b), certainly it is of Chinese origin. In this context it symbolizes unthreshed wheat-ears together with *marǰan* 'pearl'.

B3 *toʁ*: 'dust', OT *to:g* (ED 463b). Aside from the Turfan-Qomul dialect form, this word also exists in the Khotan dialect of Uyghur, signifying 'dirt, which is the result of a dust-storm gathers on the leaves of trees and bushes (Jarring 1964: 309).

C2 *maŋmidu* 'do not walk, run', negative present of *maŋ-* 'to walk', compare to standard Uyghur *maŋ-maj-du*. In the Turfan-Qomul dialect the negative suffix *-ma* mostly appears as *–mi* in the present tense.

C4 *tınmidu* 'do not take rest, stop', negative present form of *tın-* 'to breathe', compare to standard Uyghur *tın-maj-du*.

The UTIL entry *tepin* probably is from the Turfan-Qomul dialect, and in UTIL is illustrated in the meaning of 'threshing process' by means of a proverb: *ekindɛ joq tepindɛ joq, χamanda tɛjjar* 'it is not on the field, it is not at the threshing, but it is ready on the threshing ground' (352B). Existence of this proverb might indicate that *tepin* probably also existed in the other dialects of Uyghur.

E1 47 yarındaq This word appears as a binom with *tikän* in E1: 47 as part of *yarındaq tikän*. It was assumed as "a kind of plant" (die Bezeichnung einer Pflanze, Zieme 1975, note 47). In the cited example *yanṭaq tikän*, the example cited to illustrate this interpretation, both *yanṭaq* and *tikän* can be plant names, but this is not likely the case for *yarındaq tikän*. Probably *yarındaq* comes from *yar-* 'to split or cleave' (ED 954b-955a, cf. Turfan dialect *otun jar-* 'to split firewood') + derivative suffix *-XndI* (cf. OTWF 339-340) + diminutive *-Aq* (cf. OTWF 40-43). As the result of vowel coalescencse (*yarındı* + *-Aq*) this word acquired the phonetic shape *yarındaq*, and supposedly signifies 'thistle-like wooden pieces that were split'.

As far as we know, *yarındaq* is relevant in the Turfan, Kashghar dialects of Uyghur, appearing in the form *yerindaq*. Both dialects also display *yerindi*, and it refers to bigger wooden pieces (UTIL 1432), whereas *yerindaq* specifically refers to 'smaller wooden pieces'. Another word of the same derivation and similar semantics in the Turfan dialect (also appearing in the Kashghar dialect) is *čepindaq*. It derives from *čap-* 'to strike with a cutting instrument, hew' + *-XndI* + *Aq*, signifying 'stuck small wooden pieces'. A further word of the same derivation is *qiʒindaq* 'a rag' < *qijindaq* < *qiy-* 'to cut' + *XndI* + *-Aq*, which only exists in the Kashghar dialect of Uyghur, but as far as I know is not in use in the Turfan-Qomul dialect. However, *čepindi* < *çap-* + *-XndI* and *qijindi* < *qij-* 'to cut' + *-XndI* are relevant in the Turfan-Qomul dialect as well as in literary Uyghur (for the literary language form cf. UTIL 443, 857). Standard Uyghur *qijindaq* refers to 'short part of a cotton tree remaining after its main branch has been cut' (UTIL 857). Standard Uyghur displays one more

word of the same derivation, namely *čeqindi* 'fire flash or lightning flash' < *čaq-* 'to flash + *-XndI* (UTIL 445-6). Consulting the semantics of *jerindaq* found in the Turfan and Kashghar dialects, we prefer to regard *yarındaq tikän* in E1 as a hendiadys in that context, and the whole phrase seems to refer to 'thorn and (thorn-like) small wooden pieces' which harm human feet, see the whole couplet (E1 45-49):

yaba qatıg yer-lär-tä	'Always (?) at the hard places
yalaŋ adaqın yorıyu	walking with bare-foot.
yarındaq tikän-tä ulatı-larıg	The small wooden pieces, thistle, etc.
yapgutča yuŋča saqınıp	considering (them) as towel and wool.'

E1 50 kök ot can be literally translated as 'blue grass'. In the Turfan dialect as well as in most other dialects of Uyghur this compound does not refer to any specific grass or a type of plant like *gök baš* in Turkish or standard Uyghur *kök baʃ / kökvaʃ* 'corn which is newly in the milk' (cf. UTIL 919b: *jeŋidin dan tutqan, teχi resmij piʃmiʁan, syti qatmiʁan qonaq*), but mostly signifies 'wild grass that is harmful to grain, melon, etc.'. This meaning of *kök ot* seems to fit to the context of E 1 50 rather well: *köygäy susagay tep körüp baqıp, kök ot üngäy tep qorqup äymänip* 'taking care thinking that (the wheat) will burn and be thirsty, afraid of thinking that wild grasses will spring up'.

E1 99 käräkü This word refers to 'the lattice-work wooden frame' (ED 744a). It is known from Irq Bitig (Irq Bitig 18: *k(ä)räkü ičí*), and is also documented in DLT. This word still survives in many modern Turkic languages: Turkish *gerege*, Bashkir *kirägä*, Altay, Kazakh, Kirgiz *kerege*, Uzbek *kerägä* (cf. TMEN 1629; Leksika 503). Clauson provides modern Turkic examples from the North-eastern, North-central and North-western groups of the Turkic languages. Now we can add the Turfan dialect form *kerigä* 'round shaped wooden wall which supports tent or *yurt*'; now it is registered in UTIL as well (933b).

E1 100 käräm Zieme suggests "Hier würde am besten 'Keller' oder auch 'unterirdische Vorratsgrube' passen." (Zieme 1975, note 100). In the Turfan dialect of Uyghur this word appears as *gɛrɛm* or *gerem* referring to 'underground store; underground house for protection against hot summer weather'; it might also be a good reference to Zieme's interpretation. The same word was also recorded by Le Coq as *gēräm* 'inneres Gelass in einer Wohnung' (Le Coq 1911: 97), where, according to the translation, its semantics is somewhat different. Tenišev lists this word from the Tovänki Dolan, most probably the Tovänki Dolanians are immigrants from Turfan, interpreting it as 'cave' (*zemlyanka*, 1990: 56).

There are various opinions on its etymology: Clauson supposes that it perhaps originates from Tocharian (ED 745b). However, in DTS it was connected to Mongolian *kerem* (DTS 300b). Nevertheless, we have three words to store wheat in the "Erntesegen" texts as mentioned by Zieme: *ora / oru*, *käräm* and *saŋ* (E2 only displays *oru* and *saŋ*). Interestingly, all three lexemes are still in use in the Turfan dialect, while the other Uyghur dialects mostly display *ora*, very few of them also *saŋ*,

but *gerɛm* is unique to the Turfan dialect. It should also be noted that voicing of word initial *k* in the Turfan dialect is quite unusual.

E1 103 büṣäl- This verb was interpreted as 'zusammengezogen werden', mainly connecting it to Ottoman *buzülmek*, passive of *büzmek* 'kräuseln, fälteln ...'. (Zieme 1975, note 103). Erdal regards it as belonging to the *büksül-* 'to burst and split open' entry (OTWF 657). This verb seems to be the passive of *bös-* 'to break through, smash' (ED 371a), and both verbs exist in the forms *bøs-* and *bøsyl-* in the Turfan-Qomul dialect as well as in the other dialects of Uyghur (*bøsɛl-* in the Kashghar dialect, and *bøsyl-* in the other dialects). In the Turfan dialect it is specially used for 'the coming apart of sewn objects at the seam'. Standard Uyghur *bøs-* also displays similar semantics, e.g. *čapan tikičidin bøsyldi* 'The coat is coming apart at the seam' (Daniel 1997: 89b). The "Erntesegen" word most probably reads *bösäl-*, and the Turfan dialect form *bøsyl-* seems to have taken its present shape as the result of regressive vowel assimilation.

Another word in the same line seems to be *yivi*, 3d person possessive form of *yip* 'line'. Lenition of such intervocalic *p* is fairly common in the Turfan-Qomul dialect, eg. *yiv-i* 'its line' ← *yip-i*, *ilviz* 'leopard' ← *yilpiz*, *tøvɛ* ~ *tyvɛ* 'upper, roof' ← *tepe* / *tøpɛ* / *tøbe*. Most probably, the Old Uyghur spelling of V with B (see Zieme 1975: 110 note 7) reflects a similar phonological process.

E1 115 kendük denotes 'a large clay vessel for storing grain' (ED 729a), and probably originates from Middle-Persian *kndwg* (cf. ED 729a; Zieme 1975 note 115). This word appears as *kündük* 'water bottle, jug' in Chaghatay, as registered by Clauson (ED 729a). The Turfan-Qomul dialect form of this word is *køndyk*. Judging from the phonetic shape and semantics, it probably originates from Old Uyghur *kendük*, supposedly not via Chaghatay. In the Turfan area it refers to 'the secret wall of a container used for keeping grain and other important things'. In the Qomul area it signifies "a clay-made container to keep grain or clothes" (Ghopur 1986: 216). Labialization of *e* in the first syllable is common in the Turfan dialect of Uyghur and in the other dialects as well as in literary Uyghur, e.g. *øtyk* ← *etük* 'boot', *byjyk* ← *bedük* 'great'.[6] DLT *kändük* 'a vat-shaped container for flour, etc. (*kandüj*) [defined]' (DLT 241) certainly is also identical with this word.

E2 47 täv-ä örgüzä The first word *täv-ä* supposedly goes back to *täpä* 'the summit (of a mountain)' or 'yüksek yer' (IML 177, 71b); it survives in Azerbaijanian and Turkmen as *tepe* or *depe* (TMEN II 872), and is known from some rather late texts. In the earlier texts only *töpü* or *töpö* is documented. The Turfan dialect form *tøvɛ* comes from *töpä* or *töbä* (see Qomul dialect forms *töbä* ~ *tövä* ~ *tuva* in Malov 1954: 186-187) and specifically refers to 'roof' (*verx*). Similar semantics is also observable in the Lopnor dialect form *tövö* (Tenišev 1990: 171), while the standard Uyghur form

[6] Such phonetic change seems to have taken place early in the Chagatay period, e.g. Chagatay *öksük* < OT *eksük* 'lacking, less'.

tøpɛ and *typɛ* in other Uyghur dialects signify 'the top; upper' (UTIL 335ab), but do not refer to 'roof'.

The second word, *örgüzä*, is probably also identical with *ögüzä* 'Dach des Hauses' in Räsänen's dictionary (Räsänen 1969: 369b). Supposedly it is connected to *örgü* 'protuberance, hump' (ED 223b) as pointed out by Molnár and Zieme (Molnár & Zieme 1989: 149 note 47). *Örgü* or *örge* is still in use in many Turkic languages, and may be of Mongolian origin (Leksika 501-502).

However, *örgüzä* exists in standard Uyghur as *øgzɛ* (UTIL 1238a), while the other dialects display *ögözɛ* ~ *ög^{o}zɛ* (Jarring 1964: 217), *ögüz*, *ögüzä* or *ögüze* (Tenišev 1990: 118). In some regions of Turfan it co-exists with *tyvɛ* in the form *øgyz*. In the case of E2 both *täv-ä* and *örgüzä* seem to simply refer to 'roof'. If so, probably for *tŋrikä tägä turur kat (?)*[7] *bolzun, täv-ä örgüzä közünmäz bolzun* a different interpretation, 'May have a chest (?) reaching to the sky, may roofs (hend.) not be visible', to be suggested.

E50 käŋä / känkä This word was transcribed as *käŋgäs* in E2, connecting it to *köŋüz* 'a dung heap' (ED 735a, see Molnár & Zieme 1989 note 50). It appears as a part of the following lines:

čar-ın käŋgäs-in käsäkin	'Its unthreshed grain ears, its remainders and its clod
čapıp qıdrγ-qa ündürsün	May (they) be removed to one side by striking.'

Clearly *čar* refers to 'unthreshed grain ears left after winnowing' (Jarring 1964: 62 *ča*, Schwarz 334a *čar*), and *käŋä* or *käŋgä* is certainly identical with *käŋä* or *käŋgä* 'remainder after *čar*', found in the Turfan dialect (the Qomul dialect also displays *käŋgä* and *käŋgi*, see Osmanov et al. 1997: 194, but it was wrongly given as *käŋki* in UTIL 884a). In the Turfan dialect of Uyghur [ŋʁ] is a rather common string, e.g. *maŋʁa* ← *maŋa* 'to me', *jaŋʁaq* ← *jaŋaq* 'walnut';[8] therefore, *käŋä* or *käŋgä* is the most possible reading. Naturally, *-si-n* in *käŋgäs-in* is the 3d person possessive accusative form as in *čar-ın* and *käsäk-in* 'its clod'.

Three words in the same line denote three different objects left after threshing grain. Usually, grain obtained by threshing *čar* is offered to poor people, and sometimes also used to feed animals; *käŋä* or *käŋgä* 'the remainders of *čar*' is only for domestic fowl and birds, while *käsäk* (Turfan dialect *kesɛk*, most Southern Uyghur dialects, e.g. Kashghar and Khotan dialects, display *čalma* or *čamma* instead of *kesɛk*) is the 'grain rest' without grains, and usually is considered as 'clod, lump'. Note that all three of these objects are removed not by 'threshing' (*täpin*), but by 'striking' (*čapıp*).

[7] For a form for *kat* from the Turfan dialect, see Appendix.

[8] We are not sure whether this string reflects a synchronic process, e.g. [ʁ] insertion, or whether a historical or an underlying [ʁ] is represented here.

5. Final remarks

The results of our fieldwork demonstrate that the Turfan dialect of Uyghur displays a large number of lexemes attested in the "Erntesegen" texts; especially most nominals and verbs are preserved though a large number of function words have died out or been replaced by copied or native lexical items. Statistical analysis shows that the Southern regions, namely Lükčün and Say Kariz, are the most conservative areas with regard to "Erntesegen" lexemes, and from South to North the percentage of retained lexemes decreases.

Not too surprisingly, our data demonstrate many dialect lexemes that are not known from the records previously published. Some of these lexemes are even excluded in *Wu-ti Qing Wen-jian*, a rather huge dialect dictionary of 18th century Uyghur which exhibits some features of the Turfan dialect (Shōgaito 1979: 47-48). The compilators of *Wu-ti Qing Wen-jian* did not include more linguistic features of Uyghur, since its base is the Manju language. Klaproth's record is limited to a few words. Malov and Tenišev's materials are precious, but also provide only partial data from the Turfan dialect. Only Katanov and Le Coq collected rather rich materials from this dialect; hovewer, many words are also missing in their records.

Evidently, the lexicon of the Turfan dialect has undergone considerable change in the last two decades. Lexemes such as *qančıq* 'bitch' (Menges 1943:XXXV 12, OT *qančıq*), *tigürmän* 'mill' (Le Coq 1911: 88c, OT *tägirmen* 'a rotary mill') available in Katanov's materials, now appear in developed phonetic forms, (e.g. *qančuq* and *tigirmẽ* or *tygmɛn* (see Appendix), in the present Turfan dialect. Some lexemes, e.g. *tamuy* 'hell' (Le Coq 1911: 87b, OT *tamu* 'hell', Chaghatay *tamuγ*) and *uğūs* 'billig' (Le Coq 1911: 82b, OT *učuz* 'not requiring effort'), documented by Le Coq at the beginning of the last century, now are replaced by *dozaq* (< Persian *dozax*) and *a:zan* (< Persian *arzān*) in the Turfan dialect.

It is sure that many words came via the Chagatay literary language, and did not directly descend from Old Uyghur. This is possibly true for words such as *čaruq* 'sandal', *kölük* 'pack-animal', etc.

Our aim is not to decide whether the Turfan-Qomul dialect is a direct "descendant dialect" of Old Uyghur. Clearly, this cannot be proved on the basis of lexical comparison only. The focus of our attention is to see to which extent the Turfan dialect preserved Old Uyghur lexemes, and to identify what types of lexemes were retained and what types of lexemes are missing. As we have demonstrated with the "Erntesegen" texts, documentation of this dialect certainly helps to solve many difficult interpretation problems. Judging from the "Erntesegen" texts, the same is at least likely for agricultural texts and documents as well. On the other hand, it has also become clear that more than half of the function words, around 40% of the nominals and about 30% of the verbs do not exist in the Turfan dialect. This proves that not all lexemes in Old Uyghur, in certain word classes maybe most lexemes, can be identified by means of a specific modern dialect.

Our "Erntesegen" data include many useful materials for Uyghur historical linguistics and dialect geography of the Turfan-Qomul dialect. However, a discussion of these problems is not the subject of this paper.

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Appendix: A comparison of the "Erntesegen" and the Turfan dialect lexemes

Old Uyghur words are given in the transcription used in Clauson (1972) in most cases, but often follow UW and Shōgaito (1993); all dialect words are shown in the 1993 version of IPA.

1. Nominals

		Lükčün	**Murtuq**	**SayKariz**	**Tuyuq**	**SU**
1.	*ač* 'hungry'	*ač*	*ač*	*ač*	*ač*	*ač*
2.	*at* 'name'	*at*	*at*	*at*	*at*	*at/isim*
3.	*ada* 'danger'	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*
4.	*adaq* 'foot'	*ajaq*	*ajaq*	*ajaq*	*ajaq*	*ajaq*
5.	*adasız* 'dangerless'	*biχɛtɛr*	*biχɛtɛr*	*biχɛtɛr*	*biχɛtɛr*	*biχɛtɛr*
6.	*ayınmaqsı* 'unshakeable'	*tørimɛs*	*tørimɛs*	*tøjimɛs*	*tørimɛs*	*tɛvrímɛs*
7.	*ayız* 'mouth'	*ɛʁiz*	*ɛʁiz*	*ɛʁiz*	*ɛʁiz*	*ɛʁíz*
8.	*ayu* 'poison'	*o:ʁa*	*o:ʁa*	*o:ʁa*	*o:ʁa*	*oʁa*

9.	*ala* 'spotted'	*ala*	*ala*	*ala*	*ala*	*ala*
10.	*al(a)ŋ* 'bare'	*alaŋ*	*alaŋ*	*alaŋ*	*alaŋ*	*ala*
11.	*alın* 'forehead'	*piʃanɛ*	*mijɛ*	*čikɛ*	*čikkɛ*	*čekɛ*
12.	*alqıš* 'praise'	*alqiʃ*	*alqiʃ*	*alqiʃ*	*alqiʃ*	*alqiʃ*
13.	*alqu* 'all'	*hɛmmɛ*	*hɛmmə*	*hemmɛ*	*hɛmmɛ*	*hɛmmɛ*
14.	*amɪraq* 'lovely'	*imɪraq*	*imɪraq*	*imjaq*	*imɪraq*	*amraq*
15.	*amtı* 'now'	*emdi*	*ɛndi/ɛm*	*ɛmdi*	*ɛmdi*	*ɛmdi*
16.	*anda* 'there'	*unda*	*ujizda*	*ujanda*	*unda*	*u jɛrdɛ*
17.	*aq* 'white'	*aq*	*aq*	*aq*	*aq*	*aq*
18.	*aqın* 'flow'	*eqin*	*eqin/ eqiʃ*	*eqin*	*eqin*	*eqin*
19.	*aramay* 'first month'	*birinčaj*	*birinčaj*	*birinčaj*	*birinčaj*	*birinči aj*
20.	*arslan* 'lion'	*aslan*[9]	*aslan*	*aslan*	*aslan*	*arslan*
21.	*arvıš* 'magic'	*a:viʃ*[10]	*a:viʃ*	*a:viʃ*	*a:viʃ*	*ʂehir*
22.	*aš* 'food'	*aʃ*	*aʃ*	*aʃ*	*aʃ*	*tamaq / aʃ*
23.	*ašlık* 'grain'	*aʃliχ*	*aʃliχ*	*aʃliχ*	*aʃliχ*	*aʃliq*
24.	*aya* 'palm'	*alqan*	*alqan*	*alqan*	*alqan*	*alqan*
25.	*ädgü* 'good'	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*
26.	*amgäk* 'pain'	*emgɛk*[11]	*ɛmgɛk*	*ɛmgɛk*	*ɛmgɛk*	*ɛmgɛk*
27.	*ändäk* 'roof'	*tøvɛ*	*tyvɛ*	*tyvɛ*	*tyvɛ*	*øgzɛ*
28.	*är* 'man'	*eɾ*	*ɛɾ*	*ɛɾ*	*ɛɾ*	*ɛr*
29.	*ärän* 'man'	*ɛrɛnčɛ*[12]	*ɛrɛnčɛ*	*ɛrɛnčɛ*	*ɛrɛnčɛ*	*ɛrčɛ*
30.	*äski* 'old'	*eski*[13] / *kʰønɛ*	*kønɛ*	*eski*	*kønɛ*	*kona*
31.	*bag* 'sheaf'	*baʁ*	*baʁ*	*baʁ*	*baʁ*	*baʁ*
32.	*balamut* 'stupid'	*saχo*	*saχo*	*saχo*	*saχo*	*saraŋ*
33.	*bar* 'existent'	*baɾ*	*ba*	*baɾ*	*baɾ*	*bar*
34.	*balar* ?	*?*	*?*	*?*	*?*	*?*
35.	*balıq*	*ʃɛhɛɾ*	*ʃɛhɛɾ*	*ʃɛhɛɾ*	*ʃɛhɛɾ*	*ʃɛhɛr*
36.	*barča* 'all'	*ba:čɛ*	*barčɛ*	*barčɛ*	*ba:čɛ*	*barčɛ*
37.	*barčın* 'brocade'	*ipɛk*	*ipɛk*	*ipɛk*	*ipɛk*	*jipɛk*
38.	*basa* 'then'	*jɛnɛ*	*henɛ*	*henɛ*	*henɛ*	*jɛnɛ*
39.	*baš* 'head'	*baʃ*	*baʃ*	*baʃ*	*baʃ*	*baʃ*

[9] 'A kitten'
[10] 'Magical'
[11] 'Labor'
[12] *ɛrɛn* can only be used as a part of *ɛrɛnčɛ*.
[13] 'bad'

40.	*bašluk* 'headed'	*baʃliq*	*baʃliχ*	*baʃliχ*	*baʃliχ*	*baʃliq*
41.	*bašsız* 'headless'	*baʰʃsiz*	*baʰʃsiz*	*baʰʃsiz*	*baʰʃsiz*	*baʃsiz*
42.	*bäčäl* 'deformity'	*pɛlɛč*	*pɛlɛč*	*pɛlɛč*	*mijip*	*mejip*
43.	*bädük* 'big'	*čoŋ*	*byjyk*	*byjyk*	*byjyk*	*byjyk*
44..	*bäg* 'man, Mr.'	*bɛg*	*bɛɣ*	*bɛɣ*	*bɛg*	*bɛg*
45.	*biziŋ* 'our'	*bizni*	*bizni*	*bizni*	*bizni*	*biznіŋ*
46.	*bo* 'this'	*bu*	*bu*	*bu*	*bu*	*bu*
47.	*bor* 'wine'	*yzʸmaraq*	*yzʸmaraq*	*yzmaraq*	*yzmaraq*	*yzym hariqi*
48. .	*bošgutlug* 'learned'	*bilimlik*	*bilimlik*	*bilimlik*	*ylima*	*bilimlik*
49.	*börk* 'hat'	*bøʸk'*	*bøʸk*	*bøʸk*	*bøʸk*	*doppa*
50.	*buγday* 'wheat'	*buʁda*	*buʁdaj*	*buʁda*	*buʁda*	*buʁdaj*
51.	*buqa* 'ox'	*buqqa*	*buqa*	*buqa*	*buqqa*	*boqa*
52.	*čapča* 'lay-fork'	*čapča/čɛpčɛ*	*čapča / čɛpčɛ*	*čɛpčɛ*	*čɛpčɛ*	--
53.	*čar* 'threashed wheat ear'	*čar*	*čar*	*čar*	*čar*	*čar*
54.	*čarlayu* 'like threashed weat ear'	*čardɛx*	*čardɛx*	*čardɛx*	*čardɛx*	*čardɛk*
55.	*čaruq* 'a light boot'	*čoruq*	*čoruχ*	*čoruχ*	*čuruχ*	*čoruq*
56.	*čaq* 'time'	*čaq*	*čaʁ*	*čaq*	*čaq*	*čaʁ*
57.	*čiŋnä* '?'	-	-	-	-	*čaŋʁa?*
58.	*el* 'realm'	*el*	*ɛl*	*ɛl*	*el*	*el/dølɛt*
59.	*enč* 'tranquil'	*teč*	*teʃ*	*teʃ*	*teč*	*tinč*
60.	*ertä* 'earlier'	*ɛ:tɛ*	*ɛ:tɛ*	*ɛ:tɛ*	*ɛ:tɛ*	*burun*
61.	*esin* 'wind'	*ʃamal*	*ʃamal*	*ʃamal*	*ʃamal*	*ʃamal*
62.	*etmäk* 'preparation'	*tɛjjagɛrlik*	*tɛjjarliq*	*tɛjjagɛrlik*	*tɛjjarliq*	*tɛjjarliq*
63.	*idiš* 'container'	*idiʃ*	*idiʃ*	*idiʃ*	*idiʃ*	*idiʃ*
64.	*igsiz* 'free from disease'	*sak*	*taza*	*taza*	*taza*	*salamɛt*
65.	*ini* 'younger brother'	*ini*	*ini*	*ini*	*ini*	*ini*
66.	*irkäč* 'male goat'	*irʲk*[14]	*irʲk*	*irʲk*	*irik*	*erik*

[14] Also refers to 'ram'.

67.	*isindilig* 'hot, heated'	*ussuq*	*ussuq*	*ussuq*	*ussuq*	*issiq*
68.	*iš* 'work'	*iʃ*	*iʃ*	*iʃ*	*iʃ*	*iʃ*
69.	*kat* 'chest?'[15]	*kat*	*kat*	*kat*	*kat*	*kat*
70.	*kälin* 'bride'	*kilin*	*kilin*	*kilin*	*kilin*	*kelin*
71.	*känkä* 'wheat remainder??'	*kɛŋkɛ*[16]	*kɛŋkɛ*	*kɛŋkɛ*	*kɛŋkɛ*	--
72.	*käntü* 'self'	*yzi*	*yzi*	*yzi*	*yzi*	*Øz*
73.	*kärägü* 'pillar'	*kerigɛ*[17]	*kirigɛ*	*kɛrigɛ*	*kɛrigɛ*	--
74.	*käräm* 'underground store'	*gerɛm*[18]	*gerɛm*	*gɛrɛm*	*gerem*	--
75.	*käsäk* 'a lump'	*kesɛk*	*kisɛk*	*kesɛk*	*kesɛk*	*kesɛk*
76.	*kätän* '?'	--	--	--	--	*?*
77.	*kätmän* 'hoe'	*kɛtmɛn*	*kɛʔmɛn*	*keʔmɛn*	*kɛtmɛn*	*kɛtmɛn*
78.	*käyik* 'wild'	*kijik*	*kijik*	*kijik*	*kijik*	*kijik*
79.	*kedirdin* 'at the west'	*kyn peti ʃ*	*ʁɛrp*	*ʁɛrp*	*ʁɛrp*	*ʁɛrp*
80.	*kendük* 'big earthen vessel'	*køndyk*[19]	*køndyk*	*køndyk*	*køndyk*	*kyp?*
81.	*kiši* 'human'	*kiʃi*	*kiʃi*	*kiʃi*	*kiʃi*	*kiʃi*
82.	*kök* 'blue'	*køk*	*køk*	*køk*	*køk*	*køk*
83.	*kökči* 'guard'	*køxči*[20]	*kyzɛčči*	*kyzɛtči*	*kyzɛčči*	*kyzɛtči*
84.	*kölök* 'pack-animal'	*kølyk*[21]	*kølyk*	*kølyk*	*kølyk*	*hajwan*
85.	*körk* 'appearance'	*kørk*	*kørk*	*kørk*	*kørk*	*kørk*
86.	*körklüg* 'beautiful'	*kørkɛm*	*kørkɛm*	*kørkɛm*	*kørkɛm*	*čirajliq*
87.	*kötgi* 'swelling'	*kypyʃ*	*kypyʃ*	*kypyk*	*kypyk*	*køpyk*

[15] E2 46 *knt*, *känt* 'Stadt' in the word list. It may also be *kat* 'chest' (Jarring 1964: 165 *kat* 'bin, chest'; Schwarz 675a).

[16] *Kɛŋkɛ* (*kɛŋki* in some Uyghur dialects UIL 884a) 'remainder after the threashed wheat with dungs, dust etc that usually offered for fowl'

[17] 'Round shaped wooden-wall supports tent or yurt'.

[18] 'Underground house used for storing things and protecting from the high temperature'

[19] 'The wall of a secret container used for keeping grain and important things'.

[20] 'Vegetable planter', from *køk* 'vegetable', not connected with Uyghur *kökči*.

[21] 'Animals used for transporting', its meaning in the Turfan-Qomul dialect is close to Chagatay 'baggage camels, horses, and oxen' (ED 716b).

88.	*közünmäs* 'invisible'	*kørynmɛs*	*kørynmɛs*	*kørynmɛs*	*kørynmɛs*	*kørynmɛs*
89.	*közlüg* 'with eyes'	*køzlyk*	*køzlyk*	*køzlyk*	*køzlyk*	*køzlyk*
90.	*kusar*? 'short pants'?	*kosar*[22]	*kosar*	*kosar*	*kosar*	*kusar*
91.	*küčlüg* 'powerful'	*ky ʃlyk*	*ky ʃlyk*	*ky ʃlyk*	*ky ʃlyk*	*kyčlyk*
92.	*kün* 'day'	*kyn*	*kyn*	*kyn*	*kyn*	*kyn*
93.	*küŋ* 'slave'	*kyŋ*	*didɛk*	*kyŋ*	*kyŋ*	*kyŋ*
94.	*küp* 'jar'	*kyp*	*kyp*	*kyp*	*kyp*	*kyp*
95.	*küplüg* 'jar-like'	*kyptɛk*	*kyptɛk*	*kyptɛk*	*kyptɛk*	*kyptɛk*
96.	*küši* 'incense'	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyjɛ*
97.	*küvük* 'straw'	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*
98.	*küzätči* 'guardian'	*kyzɛtči*	*kyzɛčči*	*kyzɛtči*	*kyzɛčči*	*kyzɛtči*
99.	*lin* 'stoneroller'	*tuluq*	*tuluq*	*tuluq*	*tuluq*	*tuluq*
100.	*mäŋi* 'happiness'	*χo ʃalliq*	*χo ʃalliq*	*χo ʃalliq*	*χo ʃalliq*	*χo ʃalliq*
101.	*m(e)n* 'flour'	*mɛn/un*	*mɛn/un*	*un*	*un*	*un*
102.	*miŋ* 'thousand'	*miŋ*	*miŋ*	*miŋ*	*miŋ*	*miŋ*
103.	*munuŋ* 'of this'	*buniki*	*buniki*	*buniki*	*buniki*	*bunuŋ*
104.	*muz* 'ice'	*myz*	*myz*	*myz*	*myz*	*muz*
105.	*nom* 'doctrine'	*nom*[23]	*nom*	*nom*	*nom*	*nom*
106.	*oylan* 'son'	*oʁlan*	*oʁlan*	*oʁlan*	*oʁlan*	*oʁlan*
107.	*oyul* 'son'	*oʁul*	*oʁul*	*uʁul*	*uʁul*	*oʁul*
108.	*ol* 'that'	*u/da*	*u/da*	*u/da*	*u/da*	*u*
109.	*olar* 'they'	*ula/da ʃula*	*ula*	*ula*	*ula*	*ular*
110.	*opa* 'white powder'	*uppa*	*uppa*	*upa*	*uppa*	*upa*
111.	*oqtu* 'parcel'	*χalta*	*χalta*	*χalta*	*χalta*	*χalta*
112.	*ora* 'pit'	*ora*	*ura*	*ora*	*ura*	*ora*
113.	*oryaq* 'sickle'	*oʁaq*	*o:ʁaq*	*oʁaq*	*o: ʁaq*	*oʁaq*
114.	*oru* 'pit' v. ora	*ora*	*ura*	*ora*	*ura*	*ora*
115.	*orun* 'place'	*orun*	*orun*	*orun*	*urun*	*orun*
116.	*ot* 'grass'	*o"t*	*o"t*	*o"t*	*ot*	*ot*
117.	*otura* 'middle'	*otura*	*ottura*	*otura*	*ottura*	*ottura*
118.	*oy* 'hole'	*oy*	*oy*	*oy*	*oy*	*ojman*

[22] Supposedly refers to 'under pants' < Chin. *ku-cha* 'short pants'. Its 3 sg POSS from the Turfan dialect is *kusuri* (E1 *kusuri*) 'his short pants'. The assumption is uncertain.

[23] Probably a new word adopted from the Literary Uyghur in recent years.

119.	*üd* 'time'	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*waqt*
120.	*üdün* 'time'	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*waqt*
121.	*ödür* 'millet'	*teriq*	*teriq*	*teriq*	*teriq*	*teriq*
122.	*ögänlik* 'canal system'	*qanal*	*qanal*	*qanal*	*ystɛŋ*	*qanal*
123.	*ögrünč* 'happiness'	*χo ʃluq*	*χo ʃluq*	*χo ʃluq*	*χo ʃalliq*	*χo ʃalliq*
124.	*ögüz* 'river'	*dɛrja*	*dɛrja*	*dɛjja*	*dɛrja*	*dɛrja*
125.	*öküz* 'ox'	*økyz*	*ykyz*	*ykyz*	*ykyz*	*økyz*
126.	*öŋdürdin* 'from the east'	*kyn čiqi ʃtin*	*kyn čiqi ʃtin*	*ʃɛrqtin*	*kyn čiqi ʃtin*	*ʃɛrqtin*
127.	*öŋlüg* 'colourful'	*øŋlyk*	*øŋlyk*	*øŋlyk*	*øŋlyk*	*øŋlyk*
128.	*örk* 'highest'	*yst*	*yst*	*yst*	*yst*	*egiz*
129.	*örgüzä* 'roof'	*tøvɛ/øgyz*	*tøvɛ/øgyz*	*tyvɛ/øgyz*	*tøvɛ/øgyz*	*øgzɛ*
130.	*örü* 'upwards'	*ørɛ*	*yrɛ*	*ørɛ*	*yrɛ*	*ørɛ*
131.	*öšün* 'shoulder'	*ø ʃyn*	*ø ʃyn*	*ø ʃyn*	*ø ʃyn*	*ø ʃnɛ*
132.	*özlüg* 'natural'	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi'ij*
133.	*qadaš* 'kinsman'	*qaja ʃ*[24]	*qaja ʃ*	*qaja ʃ*	*qaja ʃ*	*qaja ʃ*
134.	*qal* 'black'	*χal*	*χal*	*χal*	*χal*	*χal*
135.	*q(a)muɣ* 'all'	*hɛmmɛ*	*hɛmmə*	*hɛmmɛ*	*hemmɛ*	*hɛmmɛ*
136.	*qan* 'blood'	*qan*	*qan*	*qan*	*qan*	*qan*
137.	*qana* '?'	-	-	-	-	-
138.	*qaŋlı* 'chariot'	*arawa*	*arawa*	*arawa*	*harga*	*harwa*
139.	*qapıg* 'door'	*quvuq/qu:q*	*qu:q*	*qu:q*	*qu:q*	*i ʃik*
140.	*qaplıɣ* 'with a sack'	*qapliq*	*qapliq*	*qapliq*	*qapliq*	*qapliq*
141.	*qaprɣ* 'a shovel'	*qapartqu*	*qapiriq*	*qapiriq*	*qapartqu*	*qapartma*
142.	*qara suv* 'black water'	*qara su*[25]	*qara su*	*qara su*	*qara su*	*qara su*
143.	*qarın* 'stomach'	*qerin*	*qerin*	*qerin*	*qerin*	*qerin*
144.	*qašɣalaq* 'water bird'	*qa ʃqaldaq*	*qa ʃqaldaq*	*qa ʃqaldaq*	*qa ʃqaldaq*	*qa ʃqaldaq*
145.	*qatɣ* 'hard'	*qattiq*	*qattiq*	*qattiq*	*qattiq*	*qattiq*
146.	*qatun* 'lady'	*mɛzim*	*mɛzim*	*mɛzim*	*mɛzim*	*χutun*
147.	*qaya* 'rock'	*quya*	*quya*	*quya*	*quya*	*qija ta ʃ*

[24] 'Kinsman, friend'
[25] 'Spring-water'

148.	*qayalayu* 'like a rock'	*taʃtɛx*	*taʃtɛx*	*taʃtɛx*	*taʃtɛx*	*taʃtɛx*
149.	*qaz* 'goose'	*ʁaz*	*ʁaz*	*ʁaz*	*ʁaz*	*ʁaz*
150.	*qɪdɪɣ* 'edge'	*qij*	*qir*	*qij*	*qir*	*qir*
151.	*qɪlɪq* 'behaviour'	*qiliq*	*qiliq*	*qiliq*	*qiliq*	*qiliq*
152.	*qɪrdɪš* 'a scene'	*qirtiʃ 'face'*	*qirtiʃ*	*qirtiʃ*	*qirtiʃ*	*mɛnzirɛ*
153.	*qɪrɣuy* 'sparrow-hack'	*qurʁuj*	*qurʁuj*	*qurʁuj*	*qurʁuj*	*qurʁuj*
154.	*qɪrɪq* 'lame'	*tukur*	*tukur*	*tukur*	*tukur*	*tokor*
155.	*qɪɣɪq* 'slanting'	*qijiq*[26]	*qijiq*	*qijiq*	*qijiq*	*qijiq*
156.	*qɪz* 'girl'	*qiz*	*qiz*	*qiz*	*qiz*	*qiz*
157.	*qɪzɪl* 'red'	*qizil*	*qizil*	*qizil*	*qizil*	*qizil*
158.	*qodɪn* 'under'	*pɛs*	*ast*	*tøvɛn*	*pɛs*	*pɛs*
159.	*qoldɪq* 'arm pit'	*qoltuq*	*qoltuχ*	*qoltuχ*	*qoltuχ*	*qoltuq*
160.	*qop* 'all'	*hɛmmɛ*	*hɛmmə*	*hɛmmɛ*	*hemmɛ*	*hɛmmɛ*
161.	*qorum* 'rock'	*qoram (taʃ)*	*qoram*	*(taʃ)qoram*	*qoram(taʃ)*	*qoram*
162.	*qul* 'slave'	*qul*	*qul*	*qul*	*qul*	*qul*
163.	*qutlug* 'fortunate'	*qutluq*	*qutluq*	*qutluq*	*qutluq*	*qutluq*
164.	*qutuz* 'yak'	*qutaz*	*qutaz*	*qutaz*	*qutaz*	*qotaz*
165.	*saman* 'straw'	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*	*saman*
166.	*saŋ* 'storehouse'	*saŋ*	*saŋ*	*saŋ*	*saŋ*	*ambar*
167.	*sap* 'handle'	*sap*	*sap*	*sap*	*sap*	*sap*
168.	*sapan* 'plough'	*sapan*	*sapan*	*sapan*	*sapan*	*sapan*
169.	*saqɪ* 'piece' (?)	*saqi*[27]	*saqi*	*saqi*	*saqi*	*parčɛ*
170.	*sakɪšsɪz* 'countless'	*sansiz*	*sani joq*	*sansiz*	*sansiz*	*sansiz*
171.	*say* 'river-bed'	*sa*	*saj*	*sa*	*saj*	*saj*
172.	*sämiz* 'fat'	*simiz*	*simiz*	*simiz*	*simiz*	*semiz*
173.	*sävinč* 'happiness'	*syjyny ʃ*	*syjyny ʃ*	*syjyny ʃ*	*syjyny ʃ*	*søjyny ʃ*
174.	*sɪŋarqɪ* 'at ...side'	*siŋa:qi*	*siŋa:qi*	*siŋa:qi*	*siŋa:qi*	*siŋarqi*
175.	*sɪyuq* 'broken'	*sunuq*	*sunuq*	*sunuq*	*sunuq*	*sunuq*
176.	*sizlär* 'you'	*sizlɛ (pl pol.)*	*sizlɛ*	*sizlɛ*	*sizlɛ*	*silɛr*
177.	*soŋ* 'end'	*soŋ*	*suŋ*	*soŋ*	*suŋi*	*aχiri*

[26] 'Obstinate'
[27] 'Piece, piece of bread'

178.	*sorma* 'wheat beer'	*sorma*	*sorma*	*sorma*	*sorma*	--
179.	*sönöksüz* 'unflagging'	*sunmaz*	*sunmaz*	*harmas*	*sunmaz*	*harmas*
180.	*sös* '?'	--	--	--	--	--
181.	*sözlüg* 'of word'	*sø:zlyk*	*sø:zlyk*	*sø:zlyk*	*sø:zlyk*	*søzlyk*
182.	*su* 'water'	*su*	*su*	*su*	*su*	*su*
183.	*suyulmaqsız* 'never drained'	*soʁulmas*[28]	*soʁulmas*	*soʁulmas*	--	*soʁulmaj-diʁan*
184.	*suqmıš* 'having shot'	*soqqan*	*soqqan*	*suqqan*	*soqqan*	*atqan*
185.	*suv* 'water'	*su*	*su*	*su*	*su*	*su*
186.	*suvsun* 'juice'	*mygɛsyji*	*ʃirnɛ*	*ʃirnɛ*	*ʃirnɛ*	*miwɛsyji*
187.	*süvräk* 'sluggish'	*sørɛm*	*sørɛm*	*sørɛm*	*sɛrɛm*	*sørɛlmɛ*
188.	*šabi* 'lay brother'	--	--	--	--	--
189.	*šazin* 'discipline'	--	--	--	--	--
190.	*tadun* 'a calf'	--	--	--	--	--
191.	*tay* 'mountain'	*taʁ*	*taʁ*	*taʁ*	*taʁ*	*taʁ*
192.	*tayar* 'sack'	*taʁar*	*taʁar*	*taʁar*	*taʁar*	*taʁar*
193.	*taluy* 'sea'	*deŋiz*	*deŋiz*	*deŋiz*	*deŋiz*	*deŋiz*
194.	*tanyadivi* 'Kubera'	--	--	--	--	--
195.	*taŋlančıy* 'wonderful'	*taŋ qalʁudɛk*	*taŋ qalʁudɛk*	*ajajip*	*ajajip*	*taŋ qalgudɛk*
196.	*tapan* 'heel'	*tavan*	*tavã*	*tavã*	*tavan*	*tapan*
197.	*tapıy* 'service'	*χizmɛt*	*χizmɛt*	*χizmɛt*	*χizmɛt*	*mulazimet*
198.	*taqčaŋ* 'bread?'	*toqač?*	*toʁač?*	*taqač?*	*toʁač?*	*toqač?*
199.	*taryıl* 'striped'	*tarʁïl*	*tarʁïl*	*ta:ʁïl*	*ta:ʁïl*	*taʁïl*
200.	*tarıy* 'grain'	*teriq*[29]	*teriq*	*teriq*	*teriq*	*dan*
201.	*tarıyči* 'farmer'	*teriχči/dihqan*	*diχan*	*teriχči*	*diχan*	*dehqan*
202.	*tarıylay* 'field'	*teriʁliq/etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*
203.	*taš* 'stone'	*taʃ*	*taʃ*	*taʃ*	*taʃ*	*taʃ*
204.	*tavip* 'dviipa'	*tɛvip*[30]	*tɛvip*	*tɛvip*	*tɛvip*	--
205.	*tägirmän* 'mill'	*tigirmɛn*	*tigirmẽ*	*tigirmɛn*	*tygmɛn*	*tygmɛn*
206.	*tägirmi* 'round'	*tegirmɛk*[31]	*tigirmɛk*	*tegirmɛk*	*tigirmɛk*	*jumulaq*

[28] 'To be drained off, decrease', also *soʁulmidan/soʁulmidiʁan*

[29] 'Millet, grain'

[30] This is a different word from E1 *tavip*, it originates from Ar. *tabīb* 'doctor'.

207.	*tälim* 'countless'	*sansiz*	*sani joq*	*jiq*	*køp*	*sansiz*
208.	*tämürči* 'goldsmith'	*temirči*	*tymyrči*	*tymyči*	*tymyrči*	*tømyrči*
209.	*täŋlig* 'equal'	*tɛŋlik*	*tɛŋlik*	*tɛŋlik*	*tɛŋlik*	*tɛŋlik*
210.	*t(ä)ŋri* 'God'	*tɛŋri*	*tɛŋri*	*tɛŋri*	*tɛŋri*	*tɛŋri*
211.	*täriŋ* 'deep'	*teren*[32]	*tirɛn*	*terɛn*	*terɛn*	*terɛn*
212.	*täšgüt* 'labor exchanger'	*tɛʃkyt*	*tɛʃkyt*	*tɛʃkyt*	*tɛʃkyt*	*lapqut*
213.	*tävä* 'roof'	*tøvɛ*	*tøvɛ*	*tyvɛ*	*tøvɛ*	*øgzɛ*
214.	*tegü* 'piece'	*tikɛ*	*tikɛ*	*tikɛ*	*tikɛ*	*parčɛ*
215.	*ten?* 'field?'	*etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*	*etiz*
216.	*tıltag* 'reason'	*sɛvɛp*	*sɛvɛp*	*sivɛp*	*sɛvɛp*	*sɛwɛb*
217.	*tın* 'breath'	*tin/tiniq*	*tin/tiniq*	*tin/tiniq*	*tin/tiniq*	*tiniq*
218.	*tikän* 'thistle'	*tikɛn*	*tikɛn*	*tikɛn*	*tikɛn*	*tikɛn*
219.	*tiši* 'woman'	*tiʃi*	*čiʃi*	*tiʃi*	*tiʃi/čiʃi*	*čiʃi*
220.	*toganya* 'small falcon'	*toʁaj*	*toʁaj*	*toʁaj*	*toʁaj*	*torʁaj*
221.	*toŋa* 'tiger'	*jolbas*	*jolvas*	*jolvas*	*jolvas*	*jolwas*
222.	*toŋuz* 'pig'	*toŋguz/čoʃqi*	*tuŋguz*	*toŋguz*	*tuŋguz*	*toŋguz*
223.	*tokuš* 'fight'	*suquʃ*	*suquʃ*	*suquʃ*	*suquʃ*	*soquʃ*
224.	*tokuz* 'nine'	*toqquz*	*toqquz*	*toqquz*	*toqquz*	*toqquz*
225.	*torma* 'offer'	*sɛdiqɛ*	*sɛdiqɛ*	*sɛdiqɛ*	*sɛdiqɛ*	*sɛdiqɛ*
226.	*tosın* 'wild'	*tosun*	*tosun*	*to:sun*	*to:sun*	*tosun*
227.	*tošyan* 'full'	*toʃqan*	*toʃqan*	*toʃqan*	*tuʃqan*	*toʃqan*
228.	*tört* 'four'	*tø:t*	*tø:t*	*tø:*	*tø:t*	*tøt*
229.	*tözlüg* 'natural?'	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi*	*tɛbi'ij*
230.	*tuda* 'danger'	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*	*χɛtɛr*
231.	*tuluq* 'stone roller'	*tu:luq*	*tu:luq*	*tu:luq*	*tu:luq*	*tuluq*
232.	*turqa* 'always'	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*da'im*
233.	*tutčı* 'always'	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*dajim*	*da'im*
234.	*tügdzük* 'incense'	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyji*	*kyjɛ*
235.	*türk* 'power'	*kyč*	*kyʃ*	*kyč*	*kyʃ*	*kyč*
236.	*tüš* 'fruit'	*møgɛ*	*mygɛ*	*møgɛ*	*mygɛ*	*mewɛ*
237.	*tütrüm* 'deep'	*terɛn*	*tirɛn*	*tirɛŋ*	*terɛn*	*čoŋqur*
238.	*tüz* 'flat'	*tyz*	*tyz*	*tyz*	*tyz*	*tyz*

[31] 'A round-shape seat arranged to camel'

[32] Le Coq (1911: 88b): *tirɛŋ*, *trɛŋ*.

239.	*ud* 'ox'	*uj*	*uj*	*uj*	*uj*	*uj*
240.	*udluq* 'bone?'	--	--	--	--	--
241.	*udug* 'obedience'	*bɛjjɛt*	*itiqat qil-*	*dinʁa kir-*	*bɛjjɛt*	*etiqat qil-*
242.	*uyur* 'time'	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ*	*gaχ/waχ*	*waqt*
243.	*uluš* 'realm'	*dɛvlɛt*	*ɛl*	*ɛl*	*dɛvlɛt*	*dølet*
244.	*un* 'flour'	*un*	*yn*	*un*	*un*	*un*
245.	*urug* 'seed'	*uruq*	*uruq*	*uruq*	*uruq*	*uruq*
246.	*urgu* 'budding'	*biχ urʁu*	*biχ urʁu*	*biχ uruʃ*	*biχ urʁu*	*biχ uruʃ*
247.	*uzqya* 'right'	*uzʁina*[33]	*uzʁina*	*uzʁina*	*uzʁina*	*čirajliq*
248.	*üč* 'three'	*yč*	*yč*	*yč*	*yč*	*yč*
249.	*ülgü* 'measuring'	*yly ʃ*	*ɛʁirliq*	*yly ʃ*	*ølčɛm*	*øly ʃ*[34]
250.	*ür* 'long'	*yr(kyni)*[35]	*uzun*	*yr(kyni)*	*uzun*	*uzun*
251.	*ürtgün* 'haystack'	*čøp*	*čøp*	*oʰt čøp*	*čøp*	*čøp*
252.	*üstäŋ* 'superior'[36]	*ystyn*	*ystyn*	*ystyn*	*ystyn*	*juquri*
253.	*üzäliksiz* 'unsurpassed'	*a:li*	*katta*	*katta*	*katta*	*alij*
254.	*yaba* 'always?'	*japa*[37]	*japa*	*japa*	*japa*	*da'im?*
255.	*yaɣ* 'fat'	*jaʁ/maj*	*jaʁ*	*jaʁ*	*jaʁ*	*jaʁ/maj*
256.	*yaɣı* 'enemy'	*jɛʁi/dy ʃmɛn*	*jɛʁi*	*jɛʁi*	*jɛʁi*	*dy ʃmɛn*
257.	*yaɣıš* 'an alcoholic drink'	*jɛʁin 'rain'*	*jɛʁin*	*jɛʁin*	*jɛʁin*	*jɛʁin*
258.	*yaɣız* 'brown'	*boz*	*bozla ʃ*	*boz*	*boz*	*boz*
259.	*yaylıɣ* 'fatty'	*ja(ɛ)liq/majliq*	*jaʁliq*	*ja:liq*	*jaʁliq*	*majliq*
260.	*yaɣu/ʔ*	--	--	--	--	
261.	*yalıŋ* 'naked'	*jalaŋ*	*jalaŋ*	*jalaŋ*	*jalaŋ*	*jaliŋač*
262.	*yančıɣ* 'a mash?'	*jāčiʁan*	*jɛm*	*jɛm*	*jɛm*	*jɛm*
263.	*yaŋa* 'elephant'	*pil*	*pil*	*pil*	*pil*	*pil*
264.	*yaŋı* 'new'	*jeŋi*	*jeŋi*	*jeŋi*	*jeŋi*	*jeŋi*
265.	*yapyut* 'towel'	*japquč*[38]	*ja:liχ*	*ja:liχ*	*ja:liχ*	*løŋgɛ*
266.	*yaqšı* 'good'	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*	*jaχʃi*

[33] 'Good, beautiful'

[34] 'One's share'

[35] 'Long (time ago)'

[36] Might also be *özdäŋ* 'beautiful; a mistress'. cf. Sayf-i Sarayī, *Gulistan bi't-turkī* 77v:1 (GCH 65)

[37] 'Always'

[38] Probably a different word, usually use *ja:liχ* for 'towel' like the other three villages.

267.	*yarındaq*[39]	*jerindaq*	*jerindaq*	*jerindaq*	*jerindaq*	*jerindi*
268.	*yavγan* 'a kind of food'	---	--	--	--	--
269.	*yazgı* 'of summer'	*jazʁi*	*jazʁi*	*jazʁi*	*jazʁi*	*jazʁi*
270.	*yer* 'ground'	*jɛr*	*jɛr*	*jɛr*	*jɛr*	*jɛr*
271.	*yertinčü* 'world'	*dynja*	*dynjɛ*	*dynja*	*dynja*	*dunja*
272.	*yıl* 'year'	*jil*	*jil*	*jil*	*jil*	*jil*
273.	*yılkı* 'livestock'	*jilqa*	*jilqa*	*jilqa*	*jilqa*	*jilqa*
274.	*yintäm* 'continuous'	*dawamliq*	*dawamliq*	*dawamliq*	*dawamliq*	*dawamliq*
275.	*yip* 'line'	*jip*	*jip*	*jip*	*jip*	*jip*
276.	*yula* 'oil lamp'	*qara čiraq*	*qara čiraq*	*qara čiraq*	*qara čiraq*	*qara čiraq*
277.	*yuŋ* 'wool'	*juŋ*	*juŋ*	*juŋ*	*juŋ*	*juŋ*
278.	*yüz* 'hundred'	*yz*	*jyz*	*yz/jyz*	*jyz*	*jyz*

2. Verbs

279.	*ač-* 'to be hungry'	*ač-*	*ač-*	*ač-*	*ač-*	*ač-*
280.	*aytar-* 'to throw'	*aʁdur-*	*aʁdur-*	*aʁdar-*	*aʁdur-*	*aʁdur-*
281.	*al-* 'to take'	*al-*	*al-*	*al-*	*al-*	*al-*
282.	*alqa-* 'to praise'	*taripini qil-*	*taripla-*	*gipini qil-*	*midilɛ-*	*mɛdhijilɛ-*
283.	*amıra-* 'to love'	*imɾaqla ʃ-*	*jaχ ʃi kør-*	*imɾaχ vol-*	*syjy ʃ*	*jaχ ʃi kør-*
284.	*aqar-* 'to become white'	*aqar-*	*aqar-*	*aqar-*	*aqar-*	*aqar-*
285.	*aqıt-* 'to let s.th. flow'	*eqit-*	*eqit-*	*eqit-*	*eqit-*	*eqit-*
286.	*aqla-* 'to hate'	*øʸ ʃ vol-*	*øʸ ʃ vol-*	*zejik-*	*øʸ ʃ vol-*	*zerik-*
287.	*art-* 'to increase'	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*
288.	*art-* 'to load'	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*	*art-*
289.	*artul-* 'to get loaded'	*artil-*	*artil-*	*artil-*	*artil-*	*artil-*
290.	*aša-* 'to eat'	*jɛ-/ič-*	*ič-*	*ič-*	*ič-*	*jɛ-*
291.	*älit-* 'to bring'	*elt-*	*apar-*	*apar-*	*ipir-*	*elipbar-*
292.	*ämgän-* 'to suffer'	*emgɛn-*	*ɛmgɛn-*	*ɛmgɛn-*	*azaplan-*	*azaplan-*
293.	*är-* 'to be'	*i(di)*	*i(di)*	*i(di)*	*i(di)*	*e(di)*
294.	*ävdi-* 'to gather'	*topla-*	*jiʁ-*	*topla-*	*jiʁ-*	*jiʁ-*
295.	*äjmän-* 'to be shy'	*ejmɛn-*	*ɛjmɛn-*	*ɛjmɛn-*	*ɛjmɛn-*	*äjmän-*
296.	*bagla-* 'to tie'	*bajla-*	*baʁla-*	*bajla-*	*bajla-*	*baʁla-*
297.	*baq-* 'to see'	*baq-*	*baq-*	*baq-*	*baq-*	*baq-*

[39] 'Splitted wooden pieces'

298.	*bar-* 'to go'	*barɾ-/ba-*	*ba-*	*ba-*	*ba-*	*bar-*
299.	*batur-*[40]	*paturɾ-*	*paturɾ-*	*paturɾ-*	*paturɾ-*	*paturɾ-*
300.	*bädüt-* 'to grow'(tr.)	*byjyt-*	*čoŋ qil-*	*byjyt-*	*čoŋ qil-*	*čoŋ qil-*
301.	*bäklä-* 'to keep'	*saχla-*	*saχla-*	*saχla-*	*saχla-*	*saqla-*
302.	*bälgür-* 'to appear'	*pejda vol-*	*køryn-*	*køryn-*	*pejda vol-*	*pejda vol-*
303.	*biš-* 'to ripen'	*piʃ-*	*piʃ-*	*piʃ-*	*piʃ-*	*piʃ-*
304.	*bil-* 'to know'	*bil-*	*bil-*	*bil-*	*bil-*	*bil-*
305.	*bol-* 'to become'	*bol-/vol-*	*bol-*	*bol-*	*bol-*	*bol-*
306.	*bösäl-* 'to come open'	*bøsyl-*	*bysyl-*	*bøsyl-*	*bøsyl-*	*bøsyl-*
307.	*bürür-* 'to twist'?	*pyj-/pyɾ-*[41]	*pyɾ-*	*pyɾ-*	*pyɾ-*	*pyr-*
308.	*čap-* 'to dig'	*čap-*	*čap-*	*čap-*	*čap-*	*čap-*
309.	*čič-* 'to rest'	--	--	--	--	--
310.	*čuglat-* 'to gather'	*juʁlat-*	*juʁlat-*	*juʁlat-*	*juʁlat-*	*juʁlat-*
311.	*ermägür-* 'to be lazy'	*irin-*	*irin-*	*irin-*	*irin-*	*erin-*
312.	*esinä-* 'to yawn'	*ɛsnɛ-*	*ɛsnɛ-*	*ɛsnɛ-*	*ɛsnɛ-*	*ɛsnɛ-*
313.	*ɪrlaštur-*[42]	*jirlat*[43]*-*	*naxʃa etquz-*	*etquz-*	*etquz-*	*naχʃa ejtquz-*
314.	*ičür-*[44]	*ičyɾ-*	*ičyɾ-*	*ičyɾ-*	*yčyɾ-*	*ičyr-*
315.	*igid-* 'to wear'	*kijin-*	*kij-*	*kijin-*	*kijin-*	*kijin-*
316.	*in-* 'to come'	*yn-*	*yn-*	*yn-*	*yn-*	*kɛl-*
317.	*käl-* 'to come'	*kɛl-*	*kɛl-*	*kɛl-*	*kɛl-*	*kɛl-*
318.	*kälür-* 'to bring'	*kɛltyɾ-*	*kɛ:tyɾ-*	*kɛltyɾ-*	*kɛltyɾ-*	*kɛltyr-*
319.	*kälürt-* 'to have brought'	*kɛgyz-*	*kɛgyz-*	*kɛgyz-*	*kɛgyz-*	*kɛltyr-*
320.	*käril-* 'to stretch'	*kɛril-*	*kiril-*	*kijil-*	*kiril-*	*keril-*
321.	*kät-* 'to leave'	*kɛt-*	*ket-*	*kɛt-*	*kɛt-*	*kɛt-*
322.	*kävil-* 'to get weak'	*qjizla-*	*qjizla-*	*qjizla-*	*qjizla-*	*qjizla-*
323.	*kez-* 'to go around'	*kɛz-*	*kɛz-*	*kɛz-*	*kɛz-*	*kɛz-*
324.	*kir-* 'to enter'	*kij-*	*kiɾ-*	*kij-*	*kiɾ-*	*kir-*

[40] 'To cause to go down into something'
[41] 'To twist'
[42] 'To make people sing collectively'
[43] Probably a loan from Kazakh.
[44] 'To give s.o. sth. to drink'

325.	*köklä-* 'to sew roughly'	*køklɛ-*	*køklɛ-*	*køxlɛ-*	*køxlɛ-*	*køklɛ-*
326.	*kör-* 'to see'	*kør-/kø-*	*kø-*	*kø-*	*kø-*	*kør-*
327.	*kötür-* 'to lift'	*kytyr-*	*kytyr-*	*kytyr-*	*kytyr-*	*køtyr-*
328.	*köy-* 'to burn'	*køj-*	*køj-*	*ky:-*	*køj-*	*køj-*
329.	*közün-* 'to be visible'	*køryn-*	*køryn-*	*køjyn-*	*køryn-*	*køryn-*
330.	*kürülä-* 'to take with küre'	*kyrylɛ-*	*kyrylɛ-*	*kyrylɛ-*	*kyrylɛ-*	*kyrilɛ-*
331.	*maŋa-* 'to walk'	*maŋ-*	*maŋ-*	*maŋ-*	*maŋ-*	*maŋ-*
332.	*olur-* 'to sit'	*otur-*	*otur-*	*otur-*	*otur-*	*oltur-*
333.	*or-* 'to cut'	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*
334.	*or-* 'to cut'	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*	*or-*
335.	*orla-* 'to shout'	*syrɛ sal-*	*syrɛ sal-*	*syrɛ sal-*	*syrɛ sal-*	*warqira-*
336.	*orpa-* 'to be broken'	*buzul-*	*buzul-*	*sun-*	*buzul-*	*buzul-*
337.	*ögü-* 'to grind'	*øgyt qil-*	*un tart-*	*øgyt qil-*	*un qil-*	*un tart-*
338.	*ör-* 'to braid'	*ør-*	*ør-*	*øj-*	*ør-*	*øry-*
339.	*qač-* 'to escape'	*qaʃ-*	*qač-*	*qaʃ-*	*qaʃ-*	*qač-*
340.	*qal-* 'to leave'	*qal-*	*qal-*	*qal-*	*qal-*	*qal-*
341.	*qapar-* 'to form into blister'	*qapar-*	*qapar-*	*qapar-*	*qapar-*	*qapar-*
342.	*qarar-* 'to become black'	*qaraj-*	*qaraj-*	*qaraj-*	*qaraj-*	*qaraj-*
343.	*qat-* 'to grow hard'	*qat-*	*qat-*	*qat-*	*qat-*	*qat-*
344.	*qatɤlan-* 'to harden oneself'	*qat-?*	*qat-*	*qat-*	*qat-*	*?*
345.	*qaturun-* 'to harden oneself'	*yzini qattiχ tut-*	*qetival-*	*qittival-*	*qetival-*	*qetival-*
346.	*qıl-* 'to do, gather'	*qil-*	*qil-*	*qil-*	*qil-*	*qil-*
347.	*quldur-* 'to cause to do'	*qildur-*	*qildur-*	*qildur-*	*qildur-*	*qildur-*
348.	*quqɯr-* 'to neigh'	*qiqira-*	*qiqira-*	*qiqira-*	*qiqira-*	*qirqira-*
349.	*qod-* 'to put'	*qoj-/qo:*	*qo:-*	*qo:-*	*qoj-/qo:-*	*qoj-*
350.	*qoldamla-* 'to heave'	*himir*[45]*-*	*himir-*	*jimir-*	*jimir-*	*jimir-*

[45] But *qoldama* lit. 'heaved flour', name of a food popular in Turfan and Qomul.

351.	*qollaš-* 'to grasp arms with each other'	*qolla ʃ-*[46]	*qolla ʃ-*	*qolla ʃ-*	*qolla ʃ-*	*qolla ʃ-*
352.	*qoŋruk-* 'to bark'	*gyryldɛ-*	*gyryldɛ-*	*gyldyrlɛ-*	*gyryldɛ-*	*korkira-*
353.	*qorq-* 'to be afraid of'	*qorq-*	*qorq-*	*qorq-*	*qorq-*	*qorq-*
354.	*qoštur-* 'to have harnessed'	*qo ʃtuɾ-*	*qo ʃtuɾ-*	*qo ʃtuɾ-*	*qo ʃtuɾ-*	*qo ʃtuɾ-*
355.	*qov-* 'to follow ?'	*qojla-*	*qo:la-*	*qo:la-*	*qojla-*	*qoʁla-*
356.	*qud-* 'to put something into'	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*
357.	*qudul-* 'to be poured'	*qujul-*	*qujul-*	*qujul-*	*qujul-*	*qujul-*
358.	*quɾı-* 'to dry (up)'	*quri-*	*quri-*	*quri-*	*quru-*	*quru-*
359.	*quru-* 'to dry (up)'	*quru-*	*quru-*	*quru-*	*quru-*	*quru-*
360.	*quy-* 'to put something into'	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*	*quj-*
361.	*sač-* 'to sow'	*ča ʃ-*	*ča ʃ-*	*ča ʃ-*	*ča ʃ-*	*čač-*
362.	*saqın-* 'to think'	*seʁin-*	*ojla-*	*seʁin-*	*seʁin-*	*seʁin-*
363.	*sarɣar-* 'to become yellow'	*saɾʁaj-*	*saɾʁaj-*	*saɾʁaj-*	*saɾʁaj-*	*saʁar-*
364.	*savıl-* 'to decline'	*sijil-*	*seril-*	*sijil-*	*seril-*	*seril-*
365.	*?sın-* 'to break'	*sun-*	*sun-*	*sun-*	*sun-*	*sun-*
366.	*sırpa-* 'to trip over'	*si:pa-*	*si:pa-*	*si:pa-*	*si:pa-*	*sipa-*
367.	*simäklä-* 'to work purposefully'	--	--	--	--	--
368.	*siŋır-* 'to digest'	*siŋıɾ-*	*siŋyr-*	*siŋıɾ-*	*siŋyr-*	*siŋdyr-*
369.	*soqtuɾ-* 'to have beaten'	*soqtuɾ-*	*soχtuɾ-*	*soχtuɾ-*	*soχtuɾ-*	*soqtur-*
370.	*sökül-* 'to be torn apart'	*søkyl-*	*sykyl-*	*søkyl-*	*sykyl-*	*søkyl-*
371.	*susa-* 'to be thirsty'	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*
372.	*suva-* 'to irrigate'	*suʁaɾ-*	*suʁaɾ-*	*suʁaɾ-*	*suʁaɾ-*	*suʁar-*
373.	*sürtür-* 'to have driven animals'	*syrdyɾ-*	*syrdyɾ-*	*syrdyɾ-*	*syrdyɾ-*	*syrdyr-*
374.	*tam-* 'to drop'	*tam-*	*tam-*	*tam-*	*tam-*	*tam-*

[46] 'To support each other'

375.	*tapɯn-* 'to worship'	*tevin-*	*tevin-*	*tevin-*	*tevin-*	*etiqat qil-*
376.	*tapla-* 'to be pleased'	*tapila-*[47]	*tʰʁʰr tap-*	*tʰʁʰr tap-*	*qetil-*	*qoʃul-*
377.	*tarɪ-* 'to seed'	*teri-*	*teri-*	*teri-*	*teri-*	*teri-*
378.	*tarɯq-* 'to disappear'	*tarqa-*	*tarqa-*	*tarqa-*	*tarqa-*	*tarqa-*
379.	*tart-* 'to pull'	*tart-*	*tart-*	*ta:t-*	*tart-*	*tart-*
380.	*taš-* 'to overflow'	*taʃ-*	*taʃ-*	*taʃ-*	*taʃ-*	*taʃ-*
381.	*tägin-* 'to receive'	*tigin-*	*tigin-*	*tigin-*	*tigin-*	*igɛ bol-*
382.	*tägür-* 'to bring'	*tɛkyz-*	*tɛkkyz-*	*tɛkyz-*	*tɛkkyz-*	*tɛkkyz-*
383.	*tälin-* 'to be cut'	*tilin-*	*tilin-*	*tilin-*	*tilin-*	*tilin-*
384.	*täp-* 'to thresh'	*tɛp-*	*tɛp-*	*tɛp-*	*tɛp-*	*χaman al-*
385.	*täptür-* 'to have threshed'	*tɛptyr-*	*tɛptyr-*	*tɛptyr-*	*tɛptyr-*	*χamanaldur-*
386.	*te-* 'to say'	*dɛ-/de-*	*dɛ-*	*dɛ-*	*dɛ-*	*dɛ-*
387.	*terlä-* 'to sweat'	*tɛrlɛ-*	*tɛrlɛ-*	*tɛ:lɛ-*	*tɛrlɛ-*	*tɛrlɛ-*
388.	*tɯntur-* 'to let s.o. or s.th. rest'	*tindur-*	*tindur-*	*tindur-*	*tindur-*	*tindur-*
389.	*tɪq-* 'to stuff'	*tiq-*	*tiq-*	*tiq-*	*tiq-*	*tiq-*
390.	*toɣrul-* 'to be cut in slices'	*toʁrul-*	*toʁrul-*	*tojrul-*	*toʁrul-*	*toʁral-*
391.	*toŋur-* 'to freeze'	*toŋuz-*	*toŋuz-*	*toŋuz-*	*toŋuz-*	*toŋdur-*
392.	*tora-* 'to stop'	*tora-*	*tos-*	*tora-*	*tora-*	*tora-*
393.	*toš-* 'to fill'	*toʃ-*	*toʃ-*	*toʃ-*	*toʃ-*	*toʃ-*
394.	*toylaštur-* 'to give a party'	*to:laʃtur-*	*tojlaʃtur-*	*to:laʃtur-*	*to:laʃtur-*	*tojlaʃtur-*
395.	*tozgur-* 'to fan in the wind'	*tuzut-*	*tuzut-*	*tozut-*	*tozut-*	*tozut-*
396.	*tur-* 'to stand'	*tur-*	*tur-*	*tur-*	*tur-*	*tur-*
397.	*turɣur-* 'to raise'	*turʁuz-*	*turʁuz-*	*turʁuz-*	*turʁuz-*	*turʁuz-*
398.	*turultur-* 'to tame'	*tøzdyr-*	*tøzdyr-*	*ygɛt-*	*ygɛt-*	*øgɛt-*
399.	*tut-* 'to hold'	*tut-*	*tut-*	*tut-*	*tut-*	*tut-*
400.	*tükä-* 'to end'	*tygɛ-*	*tygɛ-*	*tygɛ-*	*tygɛ-*	*tygɛ-*
401.	*tükät-* 'to complete'	*tygɛt-*	*tygɛt-*	*tygɛt-*	*tygɛt-*	*tygɛt-*
402.	*tümä-* 'to prepare'	*tɛjjarliq qil-*	*tɛjjarliq qil-*	*tɛjjar qil-*	*tɛjjarla-*	*tɛjjarla-*
403.	*tüšür-* 'to bring to fall'	*tyʃyr-*	*čyʃyr-*	*tyʃyr-*	*čyʃyr-*	*čyʃyr-*

[47] 'To instruct', a wrong answer.

404.	*u-* 'to be able'	--	--	--	--	--
405.	*un-* 'to succeed'	--	--	--	--	--
406.	*ur-* 'to throw'	*urᵛ*[48]-	*urᵛ-*	*urᵛ-*	*urᵛ-*	*urᵛ-*
407.	*uruš-* 'to fight each other'	*uru∫-*	*uru∫-*	*uru∫-*	*uru∫-*	*uru∫-*
408.	*usuq-* 'to be thirsty'	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*	*ussa-*
409.	*ükli-* 'to become larger'	*køpɛj-*	*køpɛj-*	*a∫-*	*køpɛj-*	*køpɛj-*
410.	*ükül-* 'to be heaped up'	*toplan-*	*jiʁil-*	*jiʁil-*	*toplan-*	*toplan-*
411.	*üntür-* 'to cause s.th. to rise'	*yndyrᵛ-*[49]	*yndyrᵛ-*	*yndyrᵛ-*	*yndyrᵛ-*	*yndyrᵛ-*
412.	*üšüt-* 'to chill'	*y∫yt-*	*y∫∫yt-*	*y∫yt-*	*y∫∫yt-*	*y∫∫yt-*
413.	*üzül-* 'to break'	*yzyl-*	*yzyl-*	*yzyl-*	*yzyl-*	*yzyl-*
414.	*yalyatur-* 'to have s.th. licked'	*jalat-*	*jalat-*	*jalat-*	*jalat-*	*jalat-*
415.	*yalqıt-* 'to have one's fill'	*toldurᵛ-*	*to∫quz-*	*to∫turᵛ-*	*to∫turᵛ-*	*to∫quz-*
416.	*yapur-* 'to level the ground'	*japquz-*	*japturᵛ-*	*japuz-*	*japturᵛ-*	*japturᵛ-*
417.	*yarıl-* 'to be split'	*jeril-*	*jeril-*	*jeril-*	*jeril-*	*jeril-*
418.	*yämrül-* 'to be shattered'	*jimiril-*	*himiril-*	*himijil-*	*jimiril-*	*jimiril-*
419.	*ye-* 'to eat'	*jɛ-*	*jɛ-/ič*	*jɛ-/ič*	*jɛ-*	*jɛ-*
420.	*yeltir-* 'to blow'	*∫amal čiqarᵛ-*	*pylɛ-*	*py:lɛ-*	*pylɛ-*	*pywlɛ-*
421.	*yer-* 'to hate'	*jiʁgɛn-*	*jiʁgɛn-*	*hij-*	*jiʁgin-*	*jiʁgɛn-*
422.	*yetür-* 'to give s.o. s.th. to eat'	*jigyz-*	*jidyrᵛ-*	*jidyrᵛ-*	*jidyrᵛ-*	*jedyrᵛ-*
423.	*yıytur-* 'to cause to heap up'	*jiʁdurᵛ-*	*jiʁdurᵛ-*	*jiʁdurᵛ-*	*jiʁdurᵛ-*	*jiʁdurᵛ-*
424.	*yıyıl-* 'to be accumulated'	*jiʁil-*	*jiʁil-*	*jiʁil-*	*jiʁil-*	*jiʁil-*
425.	*yorı-* 'to walk'	*jyry-*	*jyry-*	*jyry-*	*jyry-*	*jyrᵛ-*
426.	*yumšat-* 'to soften'	*jum∫at-*	*jum∫at-*	*jum∫at-*	*jum∫at-*	*jum∫at-*
427.	*yügür-* 'to run'	*jygyrᵛ-*	*jygyrᵛ-*	*jygyrᵛ-*	*jygyrᵛ-*	*jygyrᵛ-*
428.	*yüklä-* 'to load'	*jyklɛ-*	*jyxlɛ-*	*jyxlɛ-*	*jyxlɛ-*	*jyklɛ-*

[48] 'To beat; to throw'
[49] 'To gain'

3. Function words

429.	*aralap* 'sometimes'	*arilap*	*arlap*	*arlap*	*arilap*	*arilap*
430.	*ašqunun* 'kind?'	*ilɛʃlik*	*amdan*	*kili ʃɛŋgy*	*amdan*	*čiqi ʃqaq*
431.	*ädgüti* 'well'	*amdan*	*jaχʃi*	*amdan*	*amdan*	*jaχʃi*
432.	*ärtingü* 'very'	*tazzimu*	*tazza*	*tazza*	*tazza*	*nahajiti*
433.	*bad* 'fast'	*pat*	*pat*	*pat*	*pat*	*pat*
434.	*bärü* 'since'	*beri*	*biri*	*biji*	*beri*	*beri*
435.	*birlä* 'with'	*billɛ*	*billɛ*	*billɛ*	*billɛ*	*billɛ*
436.	*inčä* 'so'	*unčɛ*	*unčɛ*	*unčɛ*	*unčɛ*	*unčɛ*
437.	*idi* 'never'	*Zadi*	*zadi*	*qɛtti*	*Zadi*	*zadi*
438.	*inčip* 'this being so'	*da ʃnaq qip*	*da ʃnaq*	*da ʃnaqip*	*da ʃnaq*	*ʃundaq qilip*
439.	*kim* 'what' (conj.)	*ki*	*kim*	*kim*	*ki*	*ki*
440.	*oq* (particle)	--	--	--	--	--
441.	*qumlayu* 'like sand'	*qumdɛk*	*qumdɛk*	*qumdɛk*	*qumdɛk*	*qumdɛk*
442.	*saylayu* 'over the rivers'	*sajmu-saj*	*sajmu-saj*	*sajmu-saj*	*sajmu-saj*	*sajmu-saj*
443.	*täg* 'like'	*dɛk/dɛg*	*dɛk*	*dɛk*	*dɛk*	*dɛk*
444.	*tägi* 'until'	*qɛdɛr*	*qɛdɛr*	*qɛdɛr*	*qɛdɛr*	*qɛdɛr*
445.	*tärk* 'fast'	*tez*	*čaqan*	*čaqan*	*tiz*	*tez*
446.	*ulatı* 'as well as'	*qatarliq*	*qatarliq*	*digɛndɛk*	*qatarliq*	*qatarliq*
447.	*urıyu* '?'	--	--	--	--	--
448.	*üčün* 'for'	*yčyn*	*yčyn*	*yčyn*	*yčyn*	*yčyn*
449.	*üzä* 'with'	*bilɛn*	*bilɛn*	*bilɛn*	*bilɛn*	*bilɛn*
450.	*ya* 'oh'	*ja*	*woj*	*woj*	*he:*	*woj*
451.	*ymä* 'and'	*jɛnɛ*	*him*	*hinɛ*	*jini*	*jɛnɛ*
452.	*yoγdulayu* 'like camel's hair'	*tygi juŋidɛk*	*tygi juŋidɛk*	*tygi juŋidɛk*	--	*tøgɛ juŋidɛk*
453.	*yorγutlayu* 'like yogurt'	*qetiχtɛk*	*qetiχtɛk*	*qetiχtɛk*	*qetiχtɛk*	*qetiχtɛk*